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WEEKLY PEOPLE

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CRITICAL COMMENT

GIVE THESE YOUR CAREFUL CONSIDERATION.

"Honoring" Contracts—The Workingman Cannot Run Away from Capitalism—The Irresponsibility of Captains of Industry—Gov. Folk's Empty Words.

On the same day that a dynamite attempt was made upon the despot of Persia in the northern hemisphere, another dynamite attempt was made thousands of miles away, in the southern hemisphere, at the antipodes, upon the head of a bourgeois republic, the President of Argentina. The ruling class has everything to dread from the people in their ignorance, and everything to fear from the people when enlightened. Ignorant rage breeds dynamite explosions; intelligent indignation breeds the Movement that will overthrow the usurping class.—Disaster either way.

Class rule?—oh no! Eight laborers were fined $20 apiece and costs in Colorado last week because they "broke their contract" by quitting work on a job they found too hard. Simultaneously the Denver and Rio Grande R. R. is smashing one contract after another that it has with its men, on the plea of "decreased earnings." No $20 fines are finding the officers of the D. & R. G., though.

Capitalism is turning uneasily in its nightmare existence. According to Gen. Dent Grant, in case of a war with Japan we will need an army of 1,000,000 men. Such an army has never been known in this country. At the same time that this astounding increase in armed men is needed capitalism is crushing out the vitality of the people so that Senator Stewart declared in Congress, "If we had to raise soldiers now as we did in 1861, I do not believe we could find as many young men fit for hard service as there were at that time." No wonder the Tafts and the Roosevelts are slobbering in mock friendliness over Japan.

The Populist State convention of Montana, called for Feb. 22, met with just two delegates. Twelve years ago Populism carried the State. Thus false movements wax and wane while Socialism rises ever mightier in the land.

"If the knife is to be applied to the cancer, and we agree that it ought, let us cut to the cancer's heart, and not merely operate around its edges," were the wise words used by Representative Hardwick in Congress, and applauded to the echo by his Democratic colleagues, as he exposed the rottenness of several Trust concerns, whereupon the intrepid surgeon, instead of letting his lancet "cut to the cancer's heart," proceeded gingerly to "operate around its edges" by leaving the capitalist cancer untouched.

Desertions from the Evans fleet are a matter of daily occurrence. The proletariat flees from one country to the other, from one State to another, from one city to other cities, in the hope of escaping capitalist conditions, and, wherever it lands, it finds capitalist conditions have got there ahead of it. Such is its experience now in the Army and Navy. It flees from the mill, and factory, and the soup lines into the Navy and Army, hoping for refuge there, only to find that the Army and Navy also are "capitalized." It is not in flight that the proletariat will find safety, but in resolute and organized turning around and facing the foe in class-conscious political and economic battalions.

Among the signs of approaching revolution in the France of the eighteenth century, mentioned in her diary by Lady Mary Wortley Montague, was the swarms of paupers that crowded around her stage coach, and that required her to seek protection from the gendarmes. New York society ladies now need and are accompanied by mounted police on their drives through Fifth avenue.

"Crime is on the increase"—so runs the statement of Police Commissioner Bingham; the statement is backed up by figures. The figures do not take in the bankers, directors and other leading capitalists. If the figures were to include these bigger criminals, then the aggregate of losses through theft would run up many thousand times higher than the $25,000 reported by Commissioner Bingham.

It is to be hoped that the Reverend Fathers, who are justly indignant at the murder of Father Leo in Denver by Giuseppe Alio, and who are thundering against "the nest of Anarchists in Paterson," will prove that their indignation is against Crime, and not against crime only when committed upon one of themselves. It is to be hoped that these Reverend Fathers will take notice that Police Commissioner Bingham of this city announces that there are places "where any crime from the lowest to the greaterst can be bought for money," and that he asks for money whereby to break up these "crime factories," which he declares are "strongly organized and closely protected by the politicians connected with them." It is to be hoped that these Reverend Fathers will help to raise the needed funds. It is more virtuous to raise these funds than to lift the $400,000 mortgage from St. Patrick's Cathedral.

Wm. H. Van Schaick, the captain of the rotten hull steamer Gen. Slocum, that burned down, and the life preservers of which rather helped to increase the number of deaths, will have leisure during his term of ten years in the penitentiary to ponder upon the beauties of a social system that deprives the class that runs the capitalist concern from any voice in the manner of running them, and then sends them to the penitentiary as scape-goats.

James B. Duke, president of the American Tobacco Company (Tobacco Trust) surely told only half a lie when he testified that the consolidations which his Company effected were intended "to save expense," and not to shut off competition. The second half of his answer was a lie, the first was the truth. Inversely, the interests back of the suit to annul his charter are likewise telling a half lie. They claim that what they are after is to "promote competition," and not to cause Duke to produce more expensively. The latter half of this claim also is a lie. The half truths and half lies that pro-Trusts and anti-Trusts utter demonstrate the untenable position of either. What is true in both is realizable only under Socialism.

The competition between the florists, dressmakers and musicians, who fit out church bridal celebrations, on the one hand, and the ministers who officiate on such occasions, on the other hand, has become so intense that the Rev. Dr. J. H. McIlvaine, pastor of the Calvary Episcopal Church of Pittsburg has been driven to deliver a sermon in which, criticising the fashionable weddings, he said: "The clergyman comes to be a mere nothing, necessary, of course, but sandwiched in in any old place. The slowest music is played, often that from operas, as the bridal party marches up the aisle. This gives the guests a longer time to look at the bride's dress, and to do it they even stand up on their seats."

Whether John A. Heany of York, Pa., is an inventor whom someone else is trying to rob of his invention, or whether the other fellow is the inventor, and Heany the one trying to do him out of it will be found out when the scandal that has broken out in the Patent Office is cleared up. In the meantime there is matter to ponder over regarding the safety of inventions.

Such a thing as a man being kicked downstairs is nothing new, or miraculous. Mr. John Mitchell illustrates the possibility of the miracle of a man being kicked upstairs. At the end of his tether in the game of keeping the mine-workers tied to the apronstrings of the mine-owners, the latter have caused the gentleman to be kicked upstairs by getting their political representative in the White House to send Mr. Mitchell on a junketing and well-salaried tour to inspect the Panama Canal.

When Gov. Folk of Missouri said on the 25th instant before the Civic Forum that we were now witnessing the birth of a new era in National life—the "Era of Conscience"—did the Governor wink his left eye at the capitalists who are causing Court decisions to be rendered making the boycott a penal offence, while the blacklist continues unassailed? Or did the Governor wink his right eye at the few workingmen in the audience to give them the tip that new births of conscience are ever preceded by deepest-dyed acts of lack of conscience?

CLEAR THE DECKS

On the 2nd instant the National Secretary of the Socialist Labor Party received official notification from the Chicago national headquarters of the Socialist party that the S. L. P. invitation for a Unity Conference had been rejected by an overwhelming vote of the members of the National Committee of the S. P.

The S. L. P. invitation to a conference stipulated no conditions, except adherence to the principles of the International Congress. Affecting the swagger of a Goliath toward a David, business interests of the most grovelling, guild and craft-Union interests of the most reactionary, "intellectual" schemes of the most treasonable to the proletariat, trembled behind the mask of Socialism, worn by a large majority of the S. P. National Committeemen;—trembled at the bare thought of confronting an S. L. P. delegation of conferees;—aye, trembled at the, to them, even more dreadful thought of having to submit their conference deliberations to that rank and file, around whom they seek to build a Chinese Wall, and whom they seek to pluck as their special dupes. The S. L. P. invitation contained the express provision that the findings of the proposed Unity Conference were to be submitted to a referendum of both memberships. Had the S. L. P. invitation contained no such provision, the invitation might have been accepted by the National Committee of the S. P.: with that provision, the invitation was unacceptable.

In a matter so important that the International Congress found it necessary to urge—the unification of the Socialist forces—and obedient to which the S. L. P. acted, the large majority of the S. P. National Committeemen slighted the International Congress, and insulted its own membership by disfranchising them.

Thus, once more, the truth of the principle has been demonstrated—the loudest shouters of "Democracy!" are the worst contemners of the people; the loudest inveighers against "Bossism" are the schemers after "Bossdom." Accordingly, with the Bergers and the Simonses leading the van, and the New Yorker Volkszeitung Corporation furnishing the music, a decisive majority of the S. P. National Committee refused even to confer.

The action of the National Committee of the S. P. clarifies the situation immensely. It does more. It is the strongest justification imaginable of the indomitable persistence shown by the S. L. P. not to allow itself to be swept off its feet by the hurrah chaff of votes, gathered any old way. It is the latest and most convincing proof that the S. P. is all that the S. L. P. has charged it with, and that the continued existence of the Fighting S. L. P. is a continued necessity to the bona fide Socialist Movement of America.

If, when there might have been a theoretical doubt that the S. P. is not a member of the Socialist family, but a hideous changeling smuggled into the cradle at the hearth of the Socialist family, the S. L. P. stood firm to its colors, and upheld these against all assaults, open and covert, now that a decisive majority of the S. P. National Committee have been compelled to come out for what they are, there can no longer be any doubt as to the duty of the S .L. P. towards the American Working Class. Not rejoicing at the discovery of the correctness of its old estimate concerning the S. P., but regretfully, yet with jaws all the more firmly set and with countenance all the serener, the Fighting S. L. P. will pursue, unterrified, its undeterred career—freed now in the eyes of all thinking men of all blame for the continued spectacle of a "divided Socialist Movement."

There is a double foe to fight: the capitalist despot, and his political caricature.

Clear the decks!

CLEVELAND POLITICS

TRADES AND LABOR COUNCIL IN THE GAME.

Issues Call for a National Party—Gives Socialist Party a Broadside—S. P. Men in a Committee for New Move.

Cleveland, O., February 28.—Labor in Cleveland is going into politics. Moreover, the Trades and Labor Council proposes to issue a call for a national political party providing the A. F. of L. leaders do not do so. The convention for forming it may also be held in Cleveland.

Are we serious? Verily are we, if the Trades and Labor Council can be taken seriously.

Despite the laugh-provoking efforts of some of its orators at the Wednesday evening's meeting of the Trades Council, it could readily be perceived that something was really afoot. Several Socialist Labor Party and Industrial Workers men attended the meeting to the evident discomfiture of the pure and simples, and they got their money's worth. The meeting was a cousin to those of the Central Fakerated of New York. Mr. Dooley must have attended just such a meeting when he exclaimed: "Workingmen of all countries, unite! Ye have nothing to lose but your brains and ye haven't any."

Our friends of the Socialist Party are between the devil and the deep sea. The new movement proposes to take in union labor. The Socialist Party will either become a tail to the new party's kite or lose the pure and simple trade union vote if it decides to stand aloof. Officially, it cannot recognize the new movement, yet its most prominent men locally are on the Trades Council legislative committee which issued the call for a new party. The personnel of the committee follows: Robert Bandlow, Max. S. Hayes, Wm. Davis, Thos. Farrel, A. A. McIntyre and Harry Whitlaw.

Bandlow and Hayes are Socialist Party leading lights. Bandlow's attitude Wednesday night was characteristic of the man. He neither openly avowed himself for the so-called labor party nor did he oppose it. Only one Socialist party man had the courage to voice his protest against the so-called labor party. In a half hour's speech Thos. Clifford showed the fallacy of the movement.

Max Hayes of the "Citizen" followed Bandlow's lead, speaking in the ambiguous style of the trickster. These two "Socialists" are holding lucrative jobs under the pure and simple trade union and will continue to act in a way to further the successful holding down of their jobs.

A lengthy account of the movement appears in the "Cleveland Press" of the evening of February 26. The account closes with a long interview from Max Hayes, which ends as follows: "We propose a formidable political revolt to disarrange many carefully laid plans of the most astute leaders of the old parties."

RHODE ISLAND ITEMS.

Providence, R. I., February 24.—Last night a meeting was held in this city by a few gentlemen who have called for a United Socialst Movement and then demonstrated their desire for unity by organizing a third "Socialist" party. Among the men behind this move are Thos. Curran, Democratic lawyer, and John J. Duffy, a seeker for a mill superintendency with its driving and sweating of women and children. It can easily be seen that these men are an ample guarantee that unity and the workingman's interests will be ably protected.

One man, named Floyd, a cigarmaker, spoke against Industrial Unionism. He said he belonged to the International Union and would be fined one hundred dollars for joining the I. W. W. He was opposed to organization along industrial lines, any way, because in his craft the stripper and stogie makers would have to be taken into the union. The strippers could not "cough up" high dues, and the stogie makers got low wages. He wanted no unity with either of them.

The principal speakers considered the question of economic organization of small importance. Leave that to itself and work along purely political lines. A committee was appointed to induce S. L. P. and S. P. men to see the wisdom of the new departure.

SCALES FALLING FROM THEIR EYES.

Grand Junction, Colo., Feb. 26.—The railroads here have practically closed the shops all along the line, throwing hundreds of men out of work. The companies are making no bones of it that the "sacred contract "with employes does not hold now.

The time is an excellent one for Socialist propaganda. I notice that one can talk Socialism to the workers without protest whereas a few months ago they had the utmost faith in their pure and simple union contracts with the companies. I find that I can get subs now and send two yearlies herewith. Comrades if you are interested in the Movement push its work.

J. U. B.

NATURALLY THEY OPPOSE CHILD LABOR LAWS.

Indianapolis, March 1.—The Manufacturers' Bureau of Indiana has adopted resolutions emphatically protesting against the neactment of the Beveridge child labor bill or any like bill. This, they say, they do "not in spirit of opposition to the proper regulation of child labir, but because of the manner in which regulation has been attempted." What manner of bill which would cut off their most profitable sort of labor and still be "proper" they do not undertake to say.

It declares the bill to be so drawn as to be inrestraint of trade, prohibiting interstate commerce in the transportation of commodities produced entirely by persons of any age if incidentally children are employed in or about the factory producing such commodities. "Incidentally" is a wise word, and canbe stretched to include nearly every child they now exploit.

EL PASO STIRRED

CITY OF EL PASO A GOOD FIELD FOR SPOILS.

Religious Men of All Denominations Hold Meetings on Its Streets—Agitator Arrested — Authorities Would Crowd All Meetings in Dark and Unfrequented Square.

El Paso, Tex. ,Feb. 26.—El Paso is usually a good field for anything with a church label, and the happy hunting ground of the religious freak. Last week the Salvation Army and a dozen of its Booth family, coin collectors held a number of street meetings where the "wicked" were admonished to give up their money and their sinful ways. On adjoining streets a long haired, lusty lunged Bible pounder and his wife showed the rapid transit route to the Celestial shore, and illustrated their dope with a banner. Opposite them a white haired man, who stops at the swellest hotel in town, pounded a Bible and harangued a handful of listeners from a three wheeled cart. Below him were a band of Negro shouters, the Mexican Salvation Army, and a Temperance lecturer.

The Temperance lecturer was arrested at the instance of a labor sweating Jew, who runs a dry goods store, because the lecturer had "roasted" business men for renting their property to saloon keepers. The lecturer was pulled off his wagon, where he was displaying charts illustrative of his talks, by Chief of Police Campbell express messenger, who hurried his victim to the Police station where bail was accepted for him.

At the hearing next day the lecturer was discharged by City Recorder Lea, and an ordinance is now before the City Council to confine street speaking to the Court House Square, an unlighted portion of the city, where crowds never congregate at night. The church people, however, are protesting against the ordinance, as they are getting ready for an aggressive Prohibition campaign in El Paso.

Friday and Saturday nights State Organizer Smith, of the Socialist party, spoke to 300 or 400 people at the corner of Utah and San Antonio streets. His speeches were generally good, dealing as he did with the evolution of machinery and its effect on the working class, but he pointedly failed to say anything about Industrialism. His references to the Democratic and Republican politicians were especially telling, and his quotation of Taft's Cooper Union speech, wherein the solution of the unemployed problem was left with God, proved a good point against the incapacity of Capitalism.

Smith claims to be a Methodist preacher, but looks like a well-fed cattle man. He has a good voice and delivery, but spoiled the effect of his speeches by trying to vend a book entitled, " Christ as a Social Reformer." The buyers were few. It seems to be a hard matter for the ex-reverends in the Socialist Party to realize that the Church has lost its grip on the Working Class, and that what the workers want is the genuine message of revolutionary Socialism, the materialistic philosophy of Karl Marx and the Industrialism of the Industrial Workers of the World, and not the Reform dope of a dead decade.

PATERSON SOCIALISTS AT WORK

Successful Propaganda Among Mill Workers.

Paterson, N. J., Feb. 29.—The Socialist Labor Party here is carrying on a lively agitation. The organization has placed a canvasser in the field to solicit subscriptions, and he is meeting with success, especially in procuring new readers for the Socialistiche Arbeiter Zeitung. Kosta Georgevitch is doing this work.

Many of the silk mills are shut down and thousands of silk workers are out of employment.

The American Locomotive Company has also closed one of its plants here and the streets are lined with workmen without a job. On Thursday Georgevitch distributed literature among the men and he was promptly arrested. He was kept in the station house twenty-four hours. Upon his release he went right to work and gave out more leaflets.

Now is the opportunity to get our press and pamphlets before the workingmen. They are ready to listen and to read.

NEGRO SOCIALISTS ORGANIZE.

An Excellent Ringing Report from Men Down South — Understand Capitalist Game.

Griffin, Ga., February 26.—An Afro-American Socialist Federation has been organized here for the purpose of disseminating Socialist teaching among colored workers. Tons of literature could be used as the men are eager for every word they hear on the subject of Socialism.

We know that Socialism alone will solve the race problem. The capitalist class are the chicken-eaters. They feed upon the working class chickens and make the black chickens fight the white ones, and while thus fighting the capitalists catch them, pluck them, chop their heads off, and drink their blood and eat their meat.

With the immense field there is to work in, some very telling work is promised. Thus the working class is joining together, hands around.

RAILROAD WORKERS.

St. Louis, March 1. — Remorselessly following out its policy of "retrenchment" at its workmen's expense, the Gould system has made sweeping official changes at the Missouri Pacific Iron Mountain headquarters here, including the abolition of the New England passenger agency at Boston, the traveling passenger agency at Chicago and assistant traveling passenger agency at Memphis.

Shops Closed Up.

Sedalia, Mo., March 1.—A notice was posted at the Missouri Pacific Railroad shops here yesterday stating that "owing to the continued depression in business the shops will not be opened till further notice."

A similar notice, it was stated, was posted at all Missouri Pacific shops yesterday. Eight hundred men are involved in Sedalia. The local shops were closed February 20, when the Missouri Pacific management announced that they would reopen March 2.

BOTH ARE RIGHT.

The Detroit "News" has a cartoon in which the Republican and Democratic parties are represented respectively as an elephant and a donkey, each struggling to appropriate to himself a scroll inscribed "Pres. Message." The picture does reproduce vividly the clapperclaw now going on in Congress in which both parties claim the Presidential phrases of hostility to privilege as its own. They are both right. Neither party excels the other in the false pretence of "devotion to the people." The cartoon rightly presents the two contestants in equal possession.

SOCIALIST PARTY PAPER LOSES PLANT.

"The World," Socialist Party paper, of Oakland, Cal., announces that due to the panic it loses its printing plant, which went under the hammer February 29th.

MISLEADING LABOR

GLOVERSVILLE WORKERS DRAGGED INTO BOGS OF CAPITALISM.

Are Told to Organize for Good of Manufacturers — A Socialist Labor Man Asked to Leave Hall; Afraid He Might Say Some True Words.

Gloversville, N. Y., February 27.—In the face of the hard times now prevalent and the mass of unemployed on every hand the glove workers of this city are being organized to the tune of the mutual interests of manufacturers and workingmen! It would seem that workingmen had not enough to care for looking out for themselves; they must also see to it that the employer's interests are looked after. Thus, instead of educating our class and preparing it to do something substantial for itself, it is being led around and around into the quagmires of capitalism.

I was present at the meeting in question, being a glove-worker myself. I am also an S. L. P. and an I. W. W. man. This was known to the gentlemen in charge of the dope.

Mr. Godfrey Peterson, who presided, saw me, and announced that the meeting was for glove cutters and those who were not of that craft should leave the hall. I took the hint and walked out. This man Peterson is an S. P. organizer and was one of the committee on unity conference held here two years ago.

From the newspaper report it is learned that Mr. Peterson wished it undertstood that it was not the cutters' intention to present a hostile front to the manufacturing interests, but to work in cooperation for the betterment of the business interests of Fulton County. No wonder the workingpeople find their condition helpless, and hopeless, when falling in line with such twaddle. Do you hear of the business interests organizing to relieve the hardship of labor?

At the end of the meeting the matter of organizing was laid over until next Monday.

There is great need for disseminating the straightforward teachings of the Socialist Labor Party here. The Daily and Weekly People contain the message that will make our brothers men with a new life and spirit.

SHACKLING WORKERS

Labor Leaders in Philadelphia Dividing Workingmen.

Philadelphia, Pa., Feb. 27.—The various textile workers numbering a large percentage of unemployed had planned to parade to City Hall and present resolutions to the Mayor. But the Central Labor Union at its meeting last Sunday put itself on record as against the demonstration. They are attempting to hide the fact that a vast number of people are out of work which only shows what a stupid lot they are. Their reasons for refusing to sanction a parade are that "conditions here do not warrant such a demonstration." And this is how they serve(?) the interests of labor.

John M. Gilbert, secretary of the central trade union body was particularly vehement in denouncing the plans of the unemployed. He had been appointed to confer with the Kensington mill-workers and he reported that, "The proposed demonstration should by all means be condemned. It is not good policy and is against the best interests of labor. The committee is strongly opposed to a parade and we do not believe conditions warrant it."

A man named Letz who is a delegate from the Building Trades also spoke against the idea. He said that there might be certain speakers who would say things that would arouse the men to action. One can clearly see that these high and mighty saviors are afraid that the men will receive some teachings that will post them on the causes of present despairing conditions.

These leaders are not holding down their positions for the purpose of freeing the rank and file; they are only using their trusts to make themselves good with the powers that be. But Labor will yet realize how they are being shackled by the conduct of those worthies.

MARX ON MALLOCK
....OR....
FACTS vs. FICTION

An Address Delivered by Daniel De Leon, at Maennerchor Hall, New York City, on January 21, 1908 : : :

WORKINGMEN AND WORKINGWOMEN OF NEW YORK:

First a word on the title of this address. A critical acquaintance was much surprised, when he learned from me that Marx had never written a line on Mallock. The title—"Marx on Mallock"—he thought was misleading. It is not. Sound reasoning answers nonsense in advance, and is a commentary on all future nonsense. The Rev. Jasper in the South denied, in this generation, that the sun does not move around the earth. "The sun do move!" declared the sapient Jasper. An address entitled "Copernicus on Jasper" would be to the point, although the Rev. Jasper did not bestow his wisdom upon earth but many a century after the great astronomer Copernicus had for all time settled the question about the earth's motion around the sun. It is so also with Marx and Mallock.

There is another, a probable, misapprehension that I wish to remove before entering upon my subject. I had a more important, a vastly more important object in view, when I accepted the invitation to deliver this address, than to overthrow, refute, or confute Mallock. That vastly more important purpose is to unroll before you one of the most brilliant chapters of Marx's "Capital"—a chapter in which economics and sociology, history and the philosophy of history, are so sublimely blended that to study that chapter is, in itself, a liberal education. In unrolling that chapter before you, Mallock will, happily, serve as a foil. The contrast will set out Marx all the more radiant. Incidentally, of course, Mallock will be eclipsed, or confuted, in point of fact and in point of reasoning; but that is only incidentally. It cannot, in this generation, be the main purpose of an address on economics.

I hold in my hand a booklet issued by the public lecture bureau of the National Civic Federation. The booklet is entitled "Socialism." It contains Mallock's recent lectures here in America against Socialism. It is the booklet which the advertisements for this meeting recommended you to read in advance—especially its Sixth Lecture, which may be said to sum up the others. I hope you have followed the recommendation. It will greatly assist you in understanding the issue.

The key-note to Mallock's contention is that Marx—and with him the Socialist propagandist—ignores, if he does not deny, the existence and necessity of intelligence in the production of the vast amount of wealth produced in modern society. Not that Mallock claims that Marx ignores, or denies, intelligence, and the necessity of such, on the part of the operative in the operations of his hands. Not that. Mallock's contention is that Marx is blind to a special class of intelligence, an intelligence that, as Mallock expresses it, differs "not in degree, but in kind" from the intelligence that the manual operative exercises, and which intelligence, different in kind, is the actual source of the modern great output in wealth. This particular intelligence Mallock calls "ability," "directive ability"; he locates the same in "The Few," the capitalists; and from these premises he concludes that, seeing "The Few," the capitalist class, are the fertile source of the greatly increased output, that increased output, or "increment," as Mallock calls it, belongs of right to "The Few," the capitalist class, and not to the many, as Marx claims.

This is the substance of Mallock's position. But let us place Mallock upon the witness-stand by quoting him literally as he elaborates his theory from step to step, from premises to conclusion, in the course of his lectures.

On page 11 of the booklet, Lecture I, Mallock states the "theory" or "doctrine" of Karl Marx in these words:

> all wealth is due to the labor of the average majority—to that ordinary manual exertion which in all cases is so equal in kind that an hour of it on the part of any one man is approximately as efficacious as an hour of it on the part of any other.

In the course of the VIth and last lecture, which summarizes his argument in detail, Mallock returns to the point, and says on page 115:

> I pointed out that, as an instrument of popular agitation, socialism was based on the doctrine which Karl Marx managed to invest with a semblance of scientific truth, to the effect that all wealth is produced by ordinary manual labor—

These two passages—I quote only these two, there are many more—expressly claim that the Marxian doctrine is to the effect that "all wealth is produced by ordinary manual labor," in other words, that manual labor is the sole producer of wealth. This is the basis—the necessary and the false basis, as I shall prove to you before I close—for the superstructure of Mallock's theory, which he proceeds to elaborate with the following reasoning.

At the top of page 116 Mallock argues:

> The doctrine of Marx, as to the all-productivity of labor is, so I pointed out, virtually quite adequate to explain the production of wealth in very early communities, and even in certain remote and primitive groups to-day; but the amount of wealth per head of the industrial population in such communities is proverbially small in amount, and very meager in kind. It affords a contrast, and not a parallel to, the amount and kind of wealth produced under the modern system. What is produced per head in the latter case is indefinitely higher in quality, and more then ten times greater in quantity, than what is produced in the former: and the question is, therefore, what is the cause of the difference—the small out-put and the great?

As will presently appear, when we shall enjoy the treat of hearing Marx himself, with the exception of the introductory sentence in the passage that I have just read, and in which, as you will presently see, Marx is wrongly quoted—with the exception of that introductory sentence, the Socialist has no fault to find with the passage. It is in fact, as you will presently perceive, a page from Marxian economics, which Marx states with infinitely more lucidity. But confining ourselves to Mallock, for the present, his argument is:—Vast is the contrast between the amount of wealth produced by primitive, and the amount of wealth produced by modern society. What, asks Mallock, is the reason, or the cause, of the difference?

Before answering the question, Mallock very correctly resorts to the analytic method of elimination, by considering and eliminating possible answers that might suggest themselves, and yet are mistaken. On the same page, 116, he reasons:

> No reference to skill or the exceptional craftsmanship of individuals will provide us with any answer: for were exceptional skill, as we see in the case of an illuminated missal, or a cup by Benvenuto Cellini, whilst it will produce individual commodities of almost priceless value, will produce only a few of them, and the cost of these will be extravagant, whilst the kind of commodities which are typical of modern production is a kind which is distinctly cheap and susceptible of indefinite multiplication. Indeed, in the production of any article of modern wealth, the necessity for rare skill is a draw-back, and makes the supply of the supply at once costly and uncertain.

Again, as will duly transpire, no fault can be found with the reasoning. It is Marxian, up to the handle—primitive or pre-capitalist society yields a meager production of wealth; capitalist society yields an abundance, and is even capable of multiplying the abundance many fold. The individual skill of the operative is not the cause of the increase; indeed, the greater the skill that an article requires for its production the smaller is the output thereof. Individual skill, or the intellect of the individual manual laborer, being rather a drawback to, than a promoter of, plenty, what is the cause of the plentifulness in modern production? The next passage from the testimony of witness Mallock furnishes his answer. On that same page, 116, the witness avers:

> The great factor which differentiates modern production from production of all other kinds has nothing to do with the operation of ordinary or even skilled labor, but consists in the mental faculties by which labor is directed: and to these faculties I give the name of ability—

The answer contained in this passage is still rather vague; but it leads up rapidly to something definite. "Ability," the fact that "ability" is needed does not yet locate the ability. Further down, however, you will find the Mallockian point clinched by a definition and the location of the ability. "Ability," he proceeds to define as

> indicating certain powers residing in the minds of THE FEW.

The cat is out. "The Few," of course, are the capitalist class. The remaining passages, on this particular head, I shall go over rapidly. I cite them merely for the sake of presenting Mallock's position in all its fullness.

On page 117 Mallock re-describes the limitations of manual labor—

> I further pointed out that between labor and directing ability the difference was one not of degree but of kind, and that labor, whether skilled or unskilled, stood for the mind of a man directing the operations of his own private pair of hands, these operations ending with the handiwork on which the man is engaged, and not affecting the handiwork of any man excepting himself.

He then tersely contrasts manual labor with "ability"—

> Ability, I said, on the other hand, stands for the mind of some one man, not affecting any labor of his own hands at all, but influencing simultaneously the labor of any number of other men.

Finally Mallock epitomizes his argument at the bottom of page 117 in these words:

> The productivity, in short, of the labor of the many in the modern world depends altogether on the directive faculties of the few. The many do little more than supply a minimum, or a unit, which the ability of the few multiplies.

and on page 118 in this form:

> whilst the many, in modern as well as in primitive societies, produce a minimum of wealth, without which there would be no wealth to increase, the increment, by which modern production is differentiated from primitive, is due to the direction of the few, and not to the labor of the many.

The practical conclusion of Mallock's reasoning is reached on page 123:

> if once the functions of the directive ability, of the few are clearly recognized and asserted, and if labor in the modern world is exhibited as practically helpless without it, socialism, as an instrument of popular agitation, would be paralyzed.

In order to put Mallockism to real good use—indeed, the only use it can serve in popular enlightenment—that is, contrast it squarely with Marxism, I think it will be well to sum up Mallock's position, from his own words, before proceeding to take up Marx.

Marx, Mallock claims, sees only in manual labor, which includes the individual skill of the individual worker, the source of all wealth and wealth production: Marx errs: the error will be perceived by comparing and contrasting the output of wealth in primitive society with the output of wealth in modern society: in primitive society, where individual skill was a factor and even to-day, in the production of all articles requiring high craftsmanship, the output of wealth is meager: in modern production, where, the less the individual skill, all the more abundant is production, the output of wealth is great: whence the difference? The difference proceeds from the circumstance that, in modern society, a special intellectual faculty is set into operation: that faculty is "ability," "directive ability"; it is a faculty that differs, not in degree but in kind, from any mental faculty that the manual workers set in play: indeed, the manual workers lack that faculty: that faculty resides in "The Few," in the capitalist class: it is, thanks to the faculty, whereby the capitalist can and does affect any number of hands simultaneously, that the output of wealth is so large in modern society: without this quickening faculty, labor in the modern world is practically helpless: consequently, Marx erred when he claimed that the manual workers, and they alone, produced all wealth, and, therefore, that all wealth belonged to them: on the contrary, seeing that the source of the difference between what labor, undirected by capitalist ability, produces, and what labor, directed by capitalist ability, yields, it follows that that difference belongs, scientifically and morally, to "The Few," to the capitalist class—thus sayeth Mallock.

With this picture clear before our minds, we may proceed to take up Marx—and the facts in the case. Nevertheless, before dropping this booklet, there is one more passage from it to which I must refer. Clear though the position of Mallock is, the passage I have in mind will help to make it still clearer, and thereby offer an all-the-clearer target for the Socialist's answer.

Mallock takes up in this VIth Lecture the answer made to him in "The Worker" of this city, by Mr. Morris Hillquit, who, Mallock says, he was told was the "intellectual Ajax" of American Socialists. The starting point, the basis of Mallock's position and reasoning is, we have seen, the allegation that Marx considers nothing but the manual and mental efforts of the individual manual laborer. Mr. Hillquit's refutation is attempted by quoting these words (page 120) of Marx himself:

> By labor power or capacity for labor is to be understood the aggregate of those mental and physical capacities existing in a human being which he exercises whenever he produces a use-value of any description.

The answer falls wide of the mark. The mental faculties, referred to by Mallock as being totally ignored by Marx, are not the individual brain-powers of the operatives. The passage quoted by Mr. Hillquit refers to such brain-power only. Clear does Mallock make his point, first, that such brain-power or skill, wherever needed, is rather a drawback to the plentifulness of production; and, secondly, that the brain-power which he has in mind consists in the "directing ability" lodged in the capitalist few, whereby the manual labor, together with the necessarily accompanying skill "of any number of other men," can be influenced, and whereby the ability of the capitalist few is multiplied by the thousand hands whom that ability directs, and thereby turns from sterility into fertility. Mr. Hillquit's "triumphant answer" is irrelevant. Deservedly is it sneered at by Mallock. The only criticism to which Mallock is open on this head, when he charges Mr. Hillquit with not understanding Marx, is that Mallock's sneers are a case of the pot calling the kettle black.

We now have a clear target before us, and may proceed to take up Marx.

I have chosen deliberately the edition of Marx's "Capital," which I here hold in my hands. It is the Swan Sonnenschein edition, printed in England, Mallock's home. With this edition of "Capital" I propose to prove to you—

1st.—That it is a figment of Mallock's brain that Marx saw only in the labor of those manually engaged in production, the source of modern wealth;

2nd.—That Marx perceived, and brilliantly described, the difference between the meager productivity of primitive and the plentiful yield of modern labor; and

3rd.—That, with a flash of his genius, Marx pointed out the existence of the central directing authority in the modern world of production.

After proving, as far as these specific points are concerned, that the Marxian theory is misstated by Mallock, and that Mallock states nothing that Marx had not stated before, and elaborated with scientific and superior lucidity, I shall proceed, "Capital" in hand, to parallel and contrast Mallock's conclusions with the conclusions arrived at by Marx—

1st.—The Mallockian theory, defining the source of the "increment" as a quality of "The Few," with the Marxian theory, which defines the source of the "increment" as a quality of social, or collective power;

2nd.—The Mallockian theory, which attributes to the capitalist "The Few" the leading function in production, with the Marxian theory, which attributes solely to the Working Class (manual laborers and the supervisors from their own class) the productive functions of modern society; and

3rd.—The Mallockian theory which, as a consequence of the theory concerning the leading function in production filled by "The Few," raises the modern Capitalist Class to the dignity of social benefactors, with the Marxian theory which lowers the Capitalist Class to the level of plundering despots.

The chapter from which I shall now mainly quote is the XIIIth of Part IV. It is entitled "Co-operation"—the chapter to which I referred at the opening as being a treatise, the study of which is, in itself, a liberal education.

DIRECT YIELD OF MANUAL LABOR.

With this chapter on "Co-operation" before me, I find myself in a positive *embarras de richesse*—an embarrassment of wealth from which to draw. One can hardly turn to a page without encountering several passages directly indicative of the fact that, in the modern world of production—a world of production in which co-operative labor is a distinctive characteristic—the output of wealth is vastly greater than it was in primitive society, where co-operation was unknown, and, consequently, that output is vastly greater than would be the aggregate total of the present individual manual workers. There is another difficulty in the making of a selection of passages that distinctly point out this fact. The magnificent procession of magnificent and pregnant generalizations, deducted from the central fact of the phenomenal fertility of co-operative labor, contained in this chapter, so dove-tail into one another, that it is next to impossible to make any citation that will fall exclusively within any of the six heads which I have just enumerated. Moreover, seeing that all the observations are grounded upon that central phenomenon of the plentiful yield of co-operative labor, they all contribute their share to the demonstration of the fact that, contrary to Mallock's claim, nothing is remoter from the Marxian theory than the error that the output of modern wealth is the exclusive yield of the manual labor engaged in its production. Everyone who desires to obtain a full grasp of the point should read and study the whole chapter. I shall confine myself under this particular head to quoting just three passages which will be found ample for the purpose.

The first passage will be found on page 311:

> Capitalist production only then really begins, as we have already seen, when each individual capital employs simultaneously a comparatively large number of laborers; when, consequently, the labor-process is carried on on an extensive scale, and yields, relatively, large quantities of products. A greater number of laborers working together, at the same time, in one place (or, if you will, in the same field of labor), in order to produce the same sort of commodity under the mastership of one capitalist, constitutes, both historically and logically, the starting point of capitalist production.

The second passage occurs on page 319:

> The combined working day produces, relatively to an equal sum of isolated working-days, a greater quantity of use-values, and consequently, diminishes the labor time necessary for the production of a given useful effect.

Finally, the third is on page 315, running over to page 316, and clinches the point unmistakably:

> Just as the offensive power of a squadron of cavalry, or the defensive power of a regiment of infantry, is essentially different from the sum of the offensive or defensive powers of the individual cavalry or infantry soldiers taken separately, so the sum total of the mechanical forces, exerted by isolated workmen, differs from the social force that is developed when many hands take part simultaneously in one and the same undivided operation, such as raising a heavy weight, turning a winch, or removing an obstacle. In such cases the effect of the combined labor could either not be produced at all by isolated individual labor, or it could only be produced by a great expenditure of time, or on a very dwarfed scale. Not only have we here an increase in the productive power of the individual, by means of co-operation, but the creation of a new power, namely, the collective power of masses.

The point is here expressly made. Co-operative labor, "historically and logically, the starting point of capitalist production," yields, "relatively larger quantities of product" than the aggregate total of the individual manual workers would amount to. The second citation reiterates the fact concerning the "greater quantity of use-values" produced by the "combined working day," when compared "to an equal sum of isolated working days," and it explains the fact with the probe that the combined working day "diminishes the labor-time necessary for the production of a given useful article." However important the first two citations are to the issue, Mallock may still claim, however forced the claim, that it does not necessarily follow, from Marx's recognition of a larger output of wealth as the accompanying phenomenon of the simultaneous operation of many workers in one industry, that Marx recognizes the function of an intelligence, outside of the men busy at manual work, and necessary to the conjuring forth of the said increased output. Mallock may still claim, however forced the claim, that the point he raises is still left un-met, to wit, the existence of a human force, which, without itself operating its hands, is, thanks to its mental activity—Mallock's "ability"—essential to the yield of the said increased output. The third quotation, led up to by the two previous ones, clinches the point. The operation of many men together, implies organization; organization implies subdivision of functions; subdivision of functions, together with organization, implies differentiation of activities. Marx's illustration is brilliant. No more than the superior "offensive power of a squadron of cavalry," or the superior "defensive power of a regiment of infantry," can be said to flow exclusively from the troopers who wield sabres, or the infantrymen who carry rifles—no more than in these instances, can it be supposed that the larger output, which accompanies the simultaneous operations of many workers, flows exclusively from the manual laborers. Marx's brilliant simile, contained in the last citation, to which I shall have occasion again to refer upon a subsequent head, at once removes the bottom from under Mallock's claim that Marx attributes to direct manual labor the only source of all wealth, and also eclipses Mallock's necessarily clumsy presentation of the subject of the larger output of wealth in modern society. Why Mallock's presentation was *necessarily* clumsy will appear presently.

DIRECTING "ABILITY"—"AUTHORITY."

It should not be necessary, after the analysis I have just presented, to prove that Mallock erred when he claims that Marx fails to perceive, not the function merely, but even the existence of a directing power in modern production. The squadron of cavalry, or the regiment of infantry can not choose but be under direction. Neither, of course, could the squadron, or regiment, of co-operating manual workers. But, as I said in opening, the refutation of Mallock is only an incident in this address, the real object of which is to unroll Marx to your view. Accordingly, under this second head, I shall cite the second scientific generalization of Marx's on the subject of co-operation. The passage occurs on page 321:

> All combined labor on a large scale requires, more or less, a directing authority, in order to secure the harmonious working of the individual activities, and to perform the general functions that have their origin in the action of the combined organism, as distinguished from the action of its separate organs. A single violin player is his own conductor; an orchestra requires a separate one.

How trifling, mean and puny, when contrasted with this passage, does not Mallock's argument appear concerning the existence of the directing power in the world of production! Mallock states a fact, the philosopher and scientist Marx not only pithily stated the identical fact before, but, in stating it, traced the fact to its cause, and thereby laid the foundation that guards against error in following the fact to its effects—as will presently appear more clearly.

The harmoniously blended melody of many individual instruments is in the nature of the increased output in modern production. To the production of that harmoniously blended melody the orchestra director is indispensable: indispensable likewise, for identical reason, is the director in the orchestra of production, declares Marxian science.

Having proved Mallock's misstatements of Marx, I shall now, agreeable to promise, proceed to contrast by parallelling the divergent conclusions arrived at by each. The first of these conclusions is upon

THE SOURCE OF THE "INCREMENT."

According to Mallock, the source of the "increment"—the excess of output, when the laborers are working in "orchestra," over the output, when each laborer is his own "director"—is an attribute of "The Few." According to Mallock it is a quality that resides in "The Few" only. Male and female creation are both necessary for procreation. Between the male and the female, a sort of co-operation may be said to take place. According to Mallock, the quality, which produces the increased output, partakes of the nature of male or female creation only in as much as that quality resides exclusively in the one or the other of the parties to production; but, according to Mallock, the human vessel that is the depository of the output-increasing quality has nothing in common with the workers' hands which it directs, it has not even that in common with them that the male, or the female, has, the one with the other. In short, according to Mallock "The Few" are, by virtue of their quality, what a male would be that needed not the female for procreation—independent.

Marxian theory on the source of the "increment" is radically different. It may be given in the following two passages, the first from page 316:

> Not only have we here an increase in the productive power of the individual, by means of co-operation, but the creation of a new power, THE COLLECTIVE POWER OF MASSES.

This passage is the closing clause of one that I have cited before; the second passage will be found at the bottom of page 319:

> When the laborer co-operates systematically with others, he strips

off the fetters of his individualism, and develops the capabilities of his species.

In other words, differently from Mallock, Marx locates the "increment"-producing quality not in "The Few," but in *the many.* He defines that quality as a "social power," a "collective power," that resides in the manual workers and their director, collectively—in the Working Class. Particularly pregnant is the second passage. It enunciates a principle not of economics only but of sociology also;—a principle that incidentally knocks the bottom from under the high-sounding pretensions of the "Individualists" of all shades, from the "rose-water" to the "bomb-throwing" variety;—the principle that "individualism" fetters the individual, while freedom awaits him only when, stripped of those fetters, he develops the capabilities of his species. Man is the slave of Nature, a toy of her caprices, so long as the output of wealth is so meager that it keeps him with his nose to the grindstone of toil. Freedom comes only in the measure that the yield of his labor frees man from want, from the fear of want, and from the necessity of arduous toil to satisfy his physical necessities. So long as he labors individually, he is fettered—the yield of his labor cannot afford him freedom. The condition for freedom—an ample supply of wealth—depends upon co-operative labor. Profound, accordingly, is the philosophy that recognizes that only in co-operation—the status where man merges his individualism with man—does he develop the capabilities of his species—the capabilities for freedom.

I shall leave for later the demonstration of the correctness of the Marxian and the error of the Mallockian theory. Confining myself here to contrasting the two, this may be said upon this head:

The theory of the fertility of co-operation is but an amplification, on the domain of sociology, of a principle that is well known in mechanics. A cable is twisted out of a large number of separate threads that are individually of slight strength; but the strength of the cable is not equal merely to the sum of the strength of all the threads out of which it is made. It is equal to the sum of the strength of all those separate threads, plus an added strength that is born of their being twisted into one rope. According to Mallock, the director, whose quality twists the cable of production out of the multiple manual workers, stands to the twisted cable of modern production in the identical relation that the ropemaker, whose quality twists the rope, stands to the rope itself—the relation of human master to inanimate thing. According to Marx, on the contrary, the directing force that twists the cable of production out of the multiple individual workers, is flesh of their flesh; bone of their bone; differentiated organs of a social power whose joint efforts produce the results that enable man to enjoy the fruits of having stripped himself of the fetters of his individualism, and developed the capabilities of his species—freedom from animal want.

The contrast being established between Marx and Mallock on the source of the "increment," obvious, in advance, is the conclusion th. each arrives at on the subject of

THE PRODUCER OF THE INCREMENT.

Mallock, as we have seen, makes the capitalist the sole depository of the quality that yields the "increment." As a consequence, the depository is also the "increment" producer.

As against this theory I shall quote two passages from Marx. The first is an allegation of the economic facts in the case. It is found on page 322:

> Just as at first the capitalist is relieved from actual labor so soon as his capital has reached that minimum amount with which capitalist production, as such, begins, so now, he hands over the work of direct and constant supervision of the individual workmen, and groups of workmen, to A SPECIAL KIND OF WAGE LABORER. An industrial army of workmen, under the command of a capitalist, requires, like a real army, officers (managers), and sergeants (foremen, overlookers), who, while the work is being done, command in the name of the capitalist. THE WORK OF SUPERVISION BECOMES THEIR ESTABLISHED AND EXCLUSIVE FUNCTION.

Is the allegation false? is it true? We shall see when we come to the proof. Suffice it here to record Marx's statement that, in the course of capitalist development a "special kind of wage laborer" is generated—the workingman, the ability of whom is the "directing ability" which co-operative labor demands, and is alone exercised. If this allegation is true, then it is the Working Class—some as manual workers, others as directors, but all of the Working Class—whose co-operative labor brings forth the increment. What function would then be left to the capitalist few? Is their title "Captains of Industry" an arrogation? We shall see under the next head. In the meantime and under the present head the following third generalization—a gem of philosophy of history—will illumine the field. It is taken from page 323:

> It is not because he is a leader of industry that a man is a capitalist, he is a leader of industry because he is a capitalist. The leadership of industry is an attribute of capital, just as in feudal times the functions of general and judge were attributes of landed property.

On the benches of the schools we are warned and taught not to confound cause with effect. According to Mallock "The Few" start with a certain God-given quality—"ability" —by virtue of which they acquire the substance—"capital." According to Marx, the process is in the inverse order, and he backs up his view with a historic generalization that is luminous: according to him "The Few" start with capital, and by virtue of that, and as an attribute of that, they figure as "leaders of industry," or "ability" displayers, as Mallock expresses it. How important it is to determine whether "leadership in industry" is the cause of the "ownership of capital," or whether, inversely, the "ownership of capital" is the cause of "leadership in industry," meaning thereby the "ability" of "The Few"—in short, how important it is to be clear upon what is cause and what is effect, a scene that is taking place at this very time in the Tombs Criminal Court of this city illustrates aptly.

Harry Kendall Thaw is on trial for the murder of the architect White. The letters of Thaw's mother, his nurses, his doctors from far and wide, his "cousins, his sisters and his aunts" are all thronging to the witness-stand to prove the man insane. Now it happens that Thaw is a capitalist. Tested by all the tests furnished by Mallock—seeing that Thaw is in possession of his ample share of the "increment," which, according to Mallock, flows only from, is found in the possession of, and justly belongs to "ability" only—Thaw is of the fraternity of "The Few." Now the question comes, Is Thaw a capitalist because he is insane, or is he insane because he is a capitalist? If Mallock is right, the conclusion could not be escaped that Thaw's insanity is the fertile source of the "increment" which he enjoys; if Marx is right the conclusion would be that Thaw's ownership of capital is the cause of his insanity—an affliction that it would seem hard to escape by anyone who leads a capitalist's life, the life of preaching "Christian Brotherhood" and practicing the morality of the jungle; of preaching "family purity" and practicing debauchery; of preaching "industry" and setting the example of idleness; of preaching "common sense," and pursuing that wildest of Utopianisms, which consists in imagining that a social system, which corrodes its own foundations, can be stable and lasting; which preaches "enlightenment" and is intent upon fastening mediaeval ignorance upon the masses. But I am anticipating. To return to the subject.

There remains one more contrast to establish between Marx and Mallock. It is the contrast between their opposing views concerning

THE FUNCTION OF "THE FEW."

Mallock, we have seen, imputes to "The Few" the function of "directing" labor in the modern world of production. Mallock's position is the legitimate consequence of his premises. "The Few" being the sole depositories of the "ability" requisite to bring forth the "increment," their function in society is to exercise their "ability," to which exercise the "increment" is due, and to which "increment" are due the blessings of affluence. In other words, according to Mallock, the function of "The Few" is the important function of captaining industry. Marx, we have seen, proceeds from the principle that the "increment," as Mallock calls it, so far from being the result of a quality residing in a Few, is a quality residing in the collectivity, a *social* power. And we saw him, after illumining his contention with the illustrations of the squadron of cavalry, and the regiment of infantry, and after further demonstrating, with the illustration of the orchestra director, the inevitableness of a central directing authority—after that, we saw Marx allege the fact that the important function of supervision, direction, etc., is exercised by a "special kind of wage laborer." In short, the function of direction, of captaining industry, according to Marx, is not a function filled by Mallock's "The Few," but a function filled by a differentiated portion of the Working Class itself.

The question, now suggesting itself and demanding an answer, is a question I have dropped before in the course of this address—have, then, "The Few," the capitalists, no function whatever in present society, according to Marx? We have seen him deny with allegations of fact that "The Few" captain industry, the one function imputed to them by Mallock. Are, then, "The Few" denied by Marx all social function in present society? Far from it; and important it is to understand clearly what that function really is.

Upon this head I shall quote four passages from this chapter. The first three occur successively on page 321; they are as follows:

> The work of directing, superintending and adjusting, becomes one of the functions of capital, from the moment that labor, under the control of capital, becomes co-operative.

This sentence answers the first part of the question—the work of superintending, directing, adjusting becomes one of the functions of capital from the moment labor becomes co-operative in the course of social evolution. The answer may seem a contradiction to the passage, quoted before, and which imputes to workingmen, to "a special kind of wage laborer," and not to "The Few," the function of directing, superintending and adjusting. It is no contradiction, as we shall presently see. In fact, as we shall presently see, the seeming contradiction leads to a question, the answer to which is of no little moment to the understanding of the situation. But, not to anticipate—

Marx then proceeds:

> Once a function of capital, it [the work of directing, superintending, and adjusting] acquires special characteristics.

What are these special characteristics? Marx immediately proceeds to define them:

> The directing motive, the end and aim of capitalist production, is to extract the greatest possible amount of surplus-value, and consequently to exploit labor-power to the greatest possible extent. As the number of the co-operating laborers increases, so too does their resistance to the domination of capital, and with it, the necessity for capital to overcome this resistance by counter-pressure. The control exercised by the capitalist is not only a special function, due to the nature of the social labor-process, and peculiar to that process, but it is, at the same time, a function of the exploitation of a social labor-process, and is consequently rooted in the unavoidable antagonism between the exploiter and the living and laboring raw material he exploits.

We begin to perceive the nature of the special characteristics of the functions of "The Few." Finally, the following passage from page 322, closely following, intimately connected with, and climaxing the three I just read, completes the reasoning and rounds up the answer. Marx says:

> If, then, the control of the capitalist is in substance twofold by reason of the twofold nature of the process of production itself—which, on the one hand, is a social process for producing use-values, on the other, a process for creating surplus-value—in form that control is despotic. As co-operation extends its scale, this despotism takes forms peculiar to itself.

To sum up these four citations—According to Marx, the capitalist steps upon the stage of history equipped with capital. Of course, the thought arises, How did he get it? It is an important thought, so important that I shall not close without meeting it. For the present, and summing up Marx, it is enough to say that, according to Marx, the capitalist turns up historically in possession of capital. He did not acquire its possession "for his health." He acquired it because he realized he needed the same to satisfy the cravings of his previous *petit bourgeois* heart—more wealth. His capital, such as it then was, invested him with the attribute of "Captain of Industry," and he started exercising that function—a new function to him. Once he assumed the function, the function began to acquire special characteristics. The special characteristics which the new function acquired were the result of troubles which the incipient capitalist did not bargain for, but which he could not avoid or evade, and were inherent in the process in which he was a leading actor. More wealth is what he was after, not for the sake of wealth, but for the sake of increasing his capital, whereby to increase his riches. The capitalist was propelled by the motive of extracting "the greatest possible amount of surplus-value" from the employees whom he directed. Surplus-value is what Mallock calls "increment." Marx calls it "unpaid wages"—wealth (use-values) produced by the workers, but appropriated by the capitalist, and turned into surplus-values for himself. Accordingly, acting obedient to the social law that drives him, the capitalist was driven to increasing, and ever increasing, exploitation—the exploitation of whom? Of his workingmen. As the area of the exploitation widened, that is to say, in the measure that more and more workingmen came under his control, the social troubles of the capitalist increased—resistance to his exploitation on the part of his wage-earners. From that instant the one-time single function of the capitalist began to be differentiated into two distinct functions—first, the pristine function of increasing the output of use-values, that is wealth; second, the new function of overcoming the resistance of his employees. From that moment a further process began to take place—more and more did the capitalist withdraw from active "direction, adjusting and supervising"; "a special kind of wage-laborer" simultaneously sprang into existence—workingmen to whom the work of supervision was transferred, and with whom, thenceforth that work became the established and exclusive function. The revolutionary process having freed, or stripped "The Few" of the function of direction, the only function that remained to them was the function of overcoming the resistance of their employees by counter-pressure. That function necessarily was despotic; in the language of Marx, "as co-operation extended its scale, that despotism took forms peculiar to itself." The details and corroboration of these "peculiarities" need not here to be enumerated.

The Marxian theory, accordingly, contrasts sharply with the Mallockian. The latter, by imputing to the capitalist only a beneficent social function, presents him as a benefactor of his kind, and entitled to the wealth that he pockets; the former, by denying to the capitalist all beneficent social function and imputing to him only the functions of despotism, presents him as a harmful social barnacle, who plunders the Working Class of the wealth they alone produce, and are alone entitled to, and who, in order to effect the plunder must exercise the functions of a despot.

I need spend no time to prove that Mallock erred in his allegations of fact against Marx. Marxian theory does not attribute the great output of modern wealth exclusively to the manual laborer. Marxian theory does not ignore the important function of direction and supervision. These are matters of fact that the passages which I cited settle. What does remain to be proved is the incorrectness of Mallock's and the correctness of Marx's deduction—the incorrectness of the deduction of Mallock that the "increment" is due to the "directive ability" of "The Few," as Mallock calls the Capitalist Class, and that, therefore, to them only that "increment" rightly belongs; and the correctness of the deduction of Marx that the "increment" is due to the co-operative labor of the Working Class; that the Capitalist Class, as Marx calls Mallock's "The Few," is an idle class in production, and, consequently, that the "increment" rightly belongs only to the Working Class. Even this it should be superfluous to prove. The proofs come daily crushing down over the heads of the Mallocks. They have become the daily experiences of the age. Nevertheless, I shall cite one event in proof—a typical one because it is connected with a human tragedy, and the complete Socialist position received high judicial vindication. The further reason I have for choosing this particular event is that the prominent magistrate, who figured in the affair, was a pronounced Socialist-hater; a typical upholder of the Capitalist Class; a denouncer of Socialism as a "threat to the sanctity of womanhood and the family," while, himself, he cast off a worthy wife, went to New Jersey and married another woman; a front-pew-holding assailer of "Socialist un-Godliness";—in short, a most "unwilling witness" by all the canons of the laws of evidence. He was Judge Van Brunt, a Justice of the Supreme Court of this State. The event was the following:

It was sixteen or seventeen years ago. One of those accidents for which the New York Central Tunnel has become notorious happened there. In that "Black Hole of Calcutta" a collision took place causing the death of nearly a score of human beings. When the Coroner came to the spot the discovery was made that the deaths did not occur through the smash-up, as was supposed. It was discovered that the passengers died by being burned to death, or smothered to death in the smoke. In the collision, the stoves, used for heating the cars, were upturned; that set the cars on fire; and the people who could not escape were consumed by the flames, or asphyxiated in the smoke. By the laws of this State it is a penal offence to heat cars, on lines of more than twenty miles, I think, with stoves. The statute is intended to avoid just such an accident as happened in the Tunnel. Seeing that the New York, New Haven and Hartford road, which was the road on the cars of which the catastrophe occurred, is vastly longer than twenty miles, or so, the road was guilty of a violation of the statute; in view, moreover, of the homicidal consequences of the violation, the Directors of the road were indicted for manslaughter. Many, if not most, of the Directors of the New York Central road being also directors of the New York, New Haven and Hartford concern, the whole batch, Chauncey M. Depew among the lot, were arraigned at the bar of justice. There they stood, beautiful to contemplate—these gentlemen of "directing ability." They pleaded not guilty—on what ground? On the ground that they did *not know that their cars were heated with stoves.* This should be proof enough. But the proof in this instance does not merely "fill the dry measure." It runs over. At this point Judge Van Brunt steps upon the scene. The pleadings, backward and forward, in the case were long-drawn. The capitalistic lawyers of the precious "The Few" do not object to milking a sister capitalist cow, with the law's delays, when they get hold of her teats. I shall not, I do not need to give the full details of the extensive proceedings. The curious may hunt them up for themselves. I shall here give the gist of the affair. The Directors having pleaded not guilty on the ground that they did not know that their cars were heated with stoves, Judge Van Brunt in due time quashed the indictment, upon their own motion, laying down the correct principle that manslaughter, like any other crime, can attach only where knowledge is proven of a violation of the law. Seeing the Directors had no knowledge thereof, they were guiltless, spotless as pascal lambs, whereas the guilty parties were those who knew of the violation of the law—in other words, the guilty parties were—who? The conductors, the breakmen, the engineers, the firemen, the stationmaster, etc., etc. They were the guilty ones, because *it was they who ran the trains.* This is a crushing proof at once of the falsity of Mallock's nursery tale about the directing functions exercised by "The Few" in the modern world of labor, and of the correctness of the Marxian principle. We have all been recently made familiar with the term "Dummy Directors" that sprang up during the investigations of the insurance frauds. But why multiply examples, the very capitalist papers that are being printed to-night, while I am speaking, will furnish you to-morrow morning with fresh proofs.[*] Everybody knows; he sees the evidence of it on all sides—from top to bottom all the industries of the land are operated by the Working Class. The superfluousness of Mallock's "The Few" is brought home to all who care to think every time a member of "The Few" is gathered unto the bosom of Abraham. Numerous though the industries be and are which their "ability" "directs," their death in nowise seems to affect the run of things. Indeed, the whole Capitalist Class might die to-night, and not a wheel would stop revolving to-morrow; not an industry would be paralyzed. The only difference—a great difference, indeed—a difference that clinches the point—would be that the Working Class of the land, finding themselves, not merely in control (they are that now) but in possession also (the Capitalist Class owners having vanished), production would be forthwith freed from the capitalist dead-man's hand that now weighs upon it; wealth, being no longer produced for the capitalist purpose of sale, where prices are ruled by the supply, but being thenceforth produced for use—the use of the producers—its output would leap upwards with such bounds and leaps that the social blot of involuntary poverty would be wiped out—with all that that implies.

It happens, with this matter of capitalist "directing," what happens with taxation. The apostles of capitalism blow hot and cold, according as their interests dictate. One day, when workingmen bestir themselves to set up their own political party and run the Government, the spokesmen of "The Few" step forward with the denunciatory objection: "How dare you presume to run the Government! You do not pay the taxes! It is we, the taxpayers, who alone have the right to govern." The next day, when these same capitalists object to a tax, and seek its repeal, they appear before the self same workingmen in the garb of saving angels and address to them this language: "Dear workingmen, you are bent down with taxes! We come to your help! Fall in line behind us! We will relieve your burden!" Exactly so in the matter of "directing." One day the Mallocks soberly declare, amid the plaudits of the "The Few," that they are the directors of production and well-spring of wealth; the next day, when arraigned under an indictment in Court for having misdirected, the hour of danger wrings from their breasts the truth, that they do not direct, and their own magistrates place the official seal of approbation upon the plea, echoing: "Not they are guilty, because not they direct; the guilty are the actual directors—the workingmen who run the concern!"

There now remain only two knots to tie. I am now ready to tie them. I hope you are also ready. I hope so because I hope you have followed me closely enough to now have two questions uppermost on your minds the consideration of which will be necessary to round up the subject.

The first of the two questions that I expect you to have in mind is this:

"No doubt Mallock misstates Marx: no doubt Marx recognizes the need and the existence of a directing intelligence, outside of the intelligence directly exercised by the manual worker in modern production. No doubt also Marx's position is sound, Mallock's whimsical, as to the source of the 'increment,' the function of Working Class elements in direction, and the idleness of 'The Few,' as far as production is concerned. We recognize, we grant all that. Nevertheless, does not the obvious fact remain that without the consent of 'The Few' the workers can do nothing? Does not Mallock sufficiently hint at the fact in one of the passages quoted from his VIth Lecture where he speaks of the 'practical helplessness' of the Working Class without the Capitalist Class? Is not this helplessness a fact? And would it not follow from this fact that the Marxian principle—'Labor is the producer of all wealth, to the laborer all wealth belongs'—must be necessarily modified to read: 'Although Labor is the producer of all wealth, nevertheless, seeing the laborer is helpless without the consent of the capitalist, the capitalist is entitled to a share of the product?'"

No; it does not follow.

It is not Labor alone that is "helpless," Government also is "helpless." Without the consent of the capitalist no war can to-day be declared—he would refuse the cash therefor; and at his bidding peace is signed. The capitalist's power, without which the worker is "helpless," though a power grounded in fact, is not, as Mallock and the capitalists generally would imply, a power grounded in nature. It is a man-made power, that man can and will un-make. If a gang of bandits appropriates the well in an oasis of the desert, the travelers, of course, would be "helpless," and would be compelled to accept the bandits' terms for every cup of water. It would, however, never occur to the bandits to claim that their power in the premises is a natural affair. They never would ground their claim upon the submission of the travelers to their terms on the principle that the water in the well, and necessary to keep it full, oozed and oozes out of their pores. Mallock, however, implies for his "The Few" this very thing. He virtually claims that the "increment" oozes out of the capitalist's pores, and he imparts a semblance of truth to the droll claim by the obvious fact that capitalist consent is to-day necessary for the nation to breathe. Whereupon he raises this fact to the dignity of a principle. The error in the Mallockian principle lies in the imperfection of its sentence. The principle is not: "The capitalist is necessary"; the fact, not the principle, is: "The capitalist is necessary *to-day,*" that is, under the conditions which the brigands, who appropriated a well in the desert may be supposed to have created. The trick in the Mallockian position is an old trick —it is the trick behind which the "divine power of royalty" once entrenched itself, and is still entrenched in the minds of the fatuous—the trick of pretending that "what is, is nat-

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[*] Since the delivery of this address a curious corroborative proof of the principle above stated fell into the lecturer's hands. It is a neatly printed 22-page pamphlet entitled: "Recommendations of the Superintendent of Banks, New York State. In his Official Report, Transmitted to the Legislature, January 1, 1908." On the 4th page of this report, after referring to the recent panic-producing failures, the lists of "corporate abuse principally contributing" thereto is recited. On the list stands this entry: "Inattention to, and disregard of, duties of directors." The pamphlet bristles with evidences of the "directing ability" of "The Few:"

(Continued on page 5.)

WEEKLY PEOPLE

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SATURDAY, MARCH 7, 1908.

Capitalist production developes technology, and the combining together of various processes into a social whole, only by sapping the original sources of all wealth—the soil and the laborer.

MARX.

A STEP-BROTHER PLAYING WITH FIRE.

Among the impassioned speeches that are being delivered in Congress "against privilege" the speech of Bourke Cockran on the Indian Appropriation bill easily ranks as the most impassioned. "What avails it a citizen," exclaimed this enthusiastic "brother of the workingman" as a climax to a perfervid onslaught upon privilege, "what avails it a citizen that legally, constitutionally, theoretically he can sell his labor for what he pleases when the value of the wages he may earn is fixed absolutely by a few men in whose selection he has no voice, whose course he can not control or even influence!" Superficially looked at the exclamation has the right ring; more closely examined it is found to be not the cry of a brother in behalf of his brother, but the hypocritical attempt of a step-brother to aid in the disinheritance of him for whom he affects brotherly love. Bourke Cockran's cry is against prices—it is against those who can manipulate prices in such a way that the cost of living goes up—it is not a cry against those who regulate the money wage of the workers.

In the days of Adam Smith, that is, over a century ago, the share of the American wage earner in the product of his labor was double that of the British worker. To-day it is 93 per cent. higher outside of New York, and it has sunk to 79 per cent. higher in New York.

In 1894 the American wage earner produced on an average $1,300 a year, and he received on an average $445, or 34 per cent. of his product. In 1900 the American wage earner produced on an average $2,450, and he received on an average $438, or only 18 per cent. of his product.

Absolutely and relatively the American wage earner has declined in well-being. When the American wage earner objects to this treatment, the stereotyped answer that has come from step-brother Bourke Cockran has been that "the American wage earner is a free man; he can go where he pleases, work when he pleases for whom he pleases and for what he pleases; if one employer does not suit him he can select another; his wages are the result of his own efforts in the exercise of his freedom." The reply to this from the wage earner was: "Legally, constitutionally, theoretically I have that right, but what does the right avail me when formidable powers which the Constitution never contemplated and which government does not control, force my earnings down whichever way I turn, presenting me only with a Hobson's choice of rotten apples!" The rejoinder of step-brother Bourke Cockran always was: "Criminal! Anarchist! Law-breaker! Disrupter of Society, the State, the family and religion! Socialist, Avaunt!" Has a new soul entered the breast of the workers' step-brother that he now uses their own system of reasoning? No! 'Tis the same old step-brother soul, the STEP-brotherliness of which appears in the circumstance that the system of reasoning is misapplied.

The reasoning that Labor uses against the falsehood of "freedom to choose better wages," step-brother Cockran applies against the falsehood of "freedom to choose cheaper prices." The latter freedom applies practically only to the step-brother class — those capitalists whom the Trusts have left out in the cold. Labor is the sole producer of all wealth. If its wages equaled the product, there could be no Trust to raise prices. The infliction of higher prices upon Labor is a result of the power of capitalism to plunder the worker in production. Consequently, the exclamation of step-brother Cockran, and his cribbing against the falsehood of "freedom to choose cheaper PRICES," the correct stand of Labor against the falsehood of "freedom to choose better wages," is an exclamation that can only come from a hypocrite's breast.

Step-brother Bourke Cockran is playing with fire. A wrongdoer who is himself worsted by his pals, can not use against these the solid reasoning used by the victims of Wrong against Wrong, without burning his own fingers. The capitalist advocate's admission that conditions have so changed as to practically repeal the legal, constitutional and theoretical rights of the citizen in choosing prices, is the act of a blunderer who plays with fire, and is bound to be scorched. If even the step-brother class of the Bourke Cockrans, with all the wealth at their command, find themselves helpless before their more successful pals, the Trust magnates, how utterly helpless must not be the Working Class, which is wholly stripped of all capital in the enforcement of its "legal, constitutional and theoretical" rights to choose better wages.

The changed conditions demand new constitutional, new legal, new theoretical rights, in short—the Social Revolution, which only the politically and economically united class-conscious organized ically united, and class-consciously organized Working Class can effect.

THAT MYSTIC PUBLIC.

Science may have made great progress. For all that, the domain of the mystic stubbornly holds many an old fastness. How stubbornly may be judged from the ever recurring mysticism concerning "The Public." There have been elfs, and fays and fairies, trolls and pixies, goblins and sprites. They have all been laid. They proved too weak for the fact-broom of science. But there is one spook that, at least so far, has defied the progress of science. It is the spook of "The Public." It ever bobs up serenely. It is bobbing up again. The Civic Federation has appointed a commission "representing the interests of Capital, Labor and the Public" to investigate—well it does not matter what. It is enough to know that the investigators are "Capital," "Labor" and "The Public."

To the unmystified mind such a subdivision sounds very much like subdividing mankind into "males, females and children." If "interests" are to be subdivided into "Capital," "Labor" and "The Public" it must follow that each of these is distinct, and excludes the other two.

The interests of "Capital" are clear—it is the interests of the class that toil not, neither do they spin, and yet, like the lilies in the field, even Solomon in all his glory is not arrayed like one of them.

Also clear are the interests of "Labor"—it is the interests of the class that toils and spins, but yet, like the overdriven beasts of burden, not Lazarus in all his wretchedness is afflicted like one of them.

But how about "The Public"? Of whom is that made? It can contain neither capitalist idlers nor proletarian toilers. It can not contain them because the Civic Federation subdivision excludes them. Seeing "The Public" contains neither capitalists nor proletarians, who is there left to fill up the ranks of The Public, what can the nature of its "interests" be, and what may be the look of the mug of its representative?

Fact is there is no such thing as a distinct category "The Public." Fact is the thing is a sprite from the land of Myth, with this difference that all other denizens of Mythland are poetic conceptions, whereas "The Public" is a conception exactly the reverse of poetic. It is a conception born of Fraud, run by Fraud, and operated for Fraud's sake. It is a conception intended to confuse the social facts. It is a sort of stacking of cards—just the kind of trick that one may expect to see tried by the collection of social beauty-spots — Brothers Capital and Brothers Labor — a photograph of whom is published by the late issue of the "Civic Federationist Review," feasting at their recent banquet.

AT THE SICK-BED OF FREEDOM.

The question is often asked, Is the condition of the American wage-earners improving or deteriorating? The Socialist answers that they are deteriorating. The anti-Socialist says they are improving. Let the Constitution and By-Laws adopted in January of this year by the Association of the Postal Telegraph Employes, an Association of over 3,200 members distributed all over the country, answer the question.

Section II. of the constitution provides for one Director from each District, and that these Directors shall be **elected by the respective District Superintendents of the Company.**

This country became free upon the principle that its own people, and not the British Crown, should select its Governors. The principle was essential to freedom. If the Crown were allowed to select the Governors of the several colonies, these Governors would be the Crown's creatures, who would do the Crown's bidding, instead of being the Representatives of the people, attending to the people's interests. Thus started this nation. To-day there is found an organization, over 3,000 in number, with interests as hostile to the Company as the interests of the colonies were to the British Crown, and yet they bend the knee and neck to the Crown of the Company, and allow IT to appoint their directors.

Section IX. of the constitution provides that the same may be amended **only with the approval of the General Manager.**

This country started on its independent career with a population that insisted upon the right to amend its constitution **with its own approval,** and nobody else's. To-day we see a body of our people, numbering not less than 3,000, meekly assigning to the Crown, which rules them, the right to refuse approval to changes that, in their opinion, may become necessary in their organic law when their Government becomes destructive of their rights, liberties and pursuit of happiness.

The fourth paragraph of the By-Laws provides that the members shall not join any other organization **hostile to the interests of the Company.**

The interests of the Company require a roll of employes who are so abject as to be willing to relinquish to the Company the rights mentioned above. Any organization that would enlighten and, thereby, infuse backbone to the Company's employes, would be "hostile to the Company" in the Company's eyes. Without organization masses of men can promote no improvement for their members. This clause of the By-Laws relinquishes the right of organization which was a conquest of the American Revolution, and that clause of the By-Laws lowers the employes to the level of the serfs who belonged to the feudal lords.

Laws, Constitutions, regulations, etc., etc. reflect conditions. The conditions reflected by the Constitution and By-Laws of the Postal Telegraph Employes Association reflect a state of things that denotes DECLINE.

WELL FOR THE LITHOGRAPHERS.

At the last national convention of the organization then known as the "Lithographic Artists' Engravers' and Designers' League of America," and which changed its name to "International Union of Lithographic Workmen," a new Declaration of Principles was adopted the first paragraph of which reads:

"The International Union of Lithographic Workmen, in Convention assembled, hereby declares its disapproval of a trades union form of organization based exclusively on craft lines, and favors the abandonment of that prevailing form of organization and the substitution therefor of another, based on industrial lines."

The correspondent by whose courtesy this office is furnished with the new constitution and laws of this body, himself an officer thereof, accompanies the document with a letter in which, alluding to the recent defeat suffered by the organization, this passage occurs:

"This is all along the line of industrial unionism, and an indication of the fact that another organization has been advanced by defeat."

This is well for the lithographers. The march of the Labor Movement is not a dress parade, nor is it a triumphal march, from victory to victory. The onward march of the Labor Movement is from defeat to defeat, each defeat marking a forking of the roads. One road, leading downwards, is struck by the disheartened and the unnerved, who re-form their ranks upon a lower plane, and, traveling ever lower, constitute the submerging and submerged portion of the Labor Movement. One instance of this process of decline is illustrated this week in the article on the downward plunge of the Postal Telegraph Employes' Association. The other road, leading upwards, is struck by the oak-ribbed and nervy. With them, every defeat is a signal for re-organization upon a higher plane, reached by the elimination of the errors that the defeat proved to be errors, and by the adoption of the fitter methods that the defeat likewise pointed to. And thus, marching from defeat to defeat, each defeat being a threshing ground where errors are winnowed away and truths are perfected, and ever reforming its ranks upon a higher plane, the virile element of the Labor Movement marches onward. The onward march of the Labor Movement will record but ONE victory—the Waterloo of the Capitalist Class.

It is to be hoped that the International Union of Lithographic Workmen will furnish one of the numerous illustrations of the maxim of the sociologic philosopher to the effect that, while with the lower species Evolution is unaided by the intellect and is forced exclusively by outward conditions, with the higher species the intellect takes Evolution by the hand and thereby saves the species the ordeal of undergoing the agonies of each separate link in the evolutionary process, or at least shortens the transit. It is to be hoped that without first having to undergo the experience of another painful defeat, like the one recently suffered, the Lithographers' Union will take the next step "along the line of Industrial Unionism," and organize itself industrially with the other industries of the land by joining the Industrial Workers of the World.

PALACE ATROCITIES.

The chronicles of the "Oeil de Boeuf" (Ox-Eye) is the name given to certain records of the courts of Louis XV and Louis XVI. The Congressional Record, containing the speeches now being delivered in the Senate and the House of Representatives are in the nature of an "Oeil the Boeuf" chronicles. Like the latter, the former are not intended for general information; like the latter, the former constitute a damaging indictment drawn up by the members of the ruling class against one another. There is only one difference between the two chronicles. The participants in the old one had sense enough to know that their mutually revealed scandals concerned themselves alone, and that there was no sense in one of the participants claiming that his revelations would entitle him to the love and affection of the people; **whereas** the participants in the present struggle hurl their denunciations at one another as arguments why the denounced should make room for the denouncer.

The iniquities of the Tin Trust against the concerns not in the Trust, and against certain stockholders, certainly are scandalous; but in what way does such mutual throat-cutting concern the real people, the real public, the Working Class?

The chicaneries of bank presidents against one another are fetid enough to call for disinfectants; but in what way does the mutual throat-cutting concern the workers?

The rascalities of the Steel Trust, in collusion with high Government officials, against stockholders and other property-holders read like the records of the inmates of penitentiaries; but in what way would the workers profit if the rascalities were to cease being committed by the denounced, and the denouncers enjoyed a free field?

The conduct of the majority stockholders of the capitalist papers, who by commission and omission furnished false information to the the minority stockholders regarding the crisis, and thereby caused these heavy damages, is certainly immoral; but for what reason should the stock-less workers grow hot in the collar at the "wrong done" to the small stockholders, who, had they the chance, would have treated the majority holders to a similar dose?

Somewhere in his History of England, Macaulay observes that the atrocities committed in the palaces of the Tudors left the people unconcerned. Henry VIII., for example, Macaulay observes, was left unmolested if he wished to send Buckingham and Surrey, Anne Boleyn and Lady Salisbury, to the scaffold. The people looked upon that as a case of swine rend swine, and left the swine to do their rending. Such is the nature of the atrocities that the political representatives of capitalism are now mutually complaining about. So little as it concerned the English people whether Henry sent Buckingham to the scaffold, or Buckingham stabbed Henry to death, just so little is the Working Class of the land concerned whether one capitalist swine rends the other, or the other rend the one. The sooner they rend one another to shreds the better. The only thing that concerns the workers is to put a stop to the plunder that both sets of swine are practicing upon Labor.

THE WHITE HOUSE INTERVIEW.

Pity there was no Kodakist present when Theodore Roosevelt and "Gen." Coxey, of Coxey Army of Unemployed celebrity, had their interview at the White House. An expert Kodakist, handling a good machine, would surely have snapped off the tell-tale twinkle in the two men's eyes.

Said Gen. Coxey to President Roosevelt, looking him in the eye: "Your inland waterways message was grand, but [and here his eyes twinkled with a special twinkle] you queered the whole thing at the end."

Asked President Roosevelt, in turn looking Gen. Coxey in the eye: "How's that?"

Replied Gen. Coxey to President Roosevelt: "You suggested a bond issue by which to pay for the work. There should be no bond issue connected with any Federal, State, town, or municipal work."

Whereupon the eyes of both twinkled simultaneously and at once, and the two sets of twinkles merged into one broad twinkle-sheet that enveloped both of the dialoguists, and prevented the rest of the conversation from being heard.

"The Public," under capitalism, means the capitalist class. The proofs of this lie all around. It is only the capitalist class that counts under capitalism. When the capitalist class is taking its outings to Europe the capitalist press announces that "nobody is in town." The masses are simply "not in it" with "The Public." It follows that "Public Works" are works in the interest of "The Public"; and, "The Public" being the capitalist class, the conclusion can not be escaped that "Public Works" are in the interest of the capitalist class. Now, then, to suppose any "Public Work"—Federal, State, town, or municipal—to be undertaken without bonds is to suppose an absurdity. It is only through the bonds that "The Public's" interests can be seen to. If crises are on, and there is no opportunity to bond private enterprises, why, then, "Public" undertakings are set up, so as to give bonds an opportunity. The recently issued New York City bonds were subscribed for many times over, at this very season, when the general cry is "tight money."

Gen. Coxey is no man's fool; President Roosevelt knows a thing or two. Bond's the thing for "The Public."

MERCHANDISE LABOR-POWER.

The Distinction Between Commodities in General and Special Commodity Labor.

On Tuesday, Feb. 18, an instructive lecture was delivered by Daniel De Leon at Maennerchor Hall, on Fifty-sixth street, New York. The question of the special merchandise Labor-power was dealt with. De Leon showed that differently from other commodities and commodity-owners, the laborer and the labor-power were one and the same thing. "The workingman sells his merchandise, his labor-power. The possessor of cloth sells his merchandise, a yard of cloth. Imagine that the cloth is suddenly burnt up—the owner survives. Let the owner of the cloth perish, the commodity remains behind. In other words, in the case of all merchandise, except labor power, the owner and the merchandise are two distinct things.

"How is it with the seller of the merchandise labor-power? Say he catches a cold or gets sick;—immediately his merchandise is affected. Say that his merchandise, his power to labor is paralyzed, likewise immediately is he himself affected. In selling his labor he sells himself. The day he dies, that day his merchandise dies; and the day his merchandise abandons him, that day his exchange-value ceases and his days are at an end. The fate of the one is the fate of the other. When the workingman therefore sells his labor-power he sells himself.

The speaker showed the difference in lowering the price of a yard of cloth and lowering the price of labor-power. With a large amount of commodities on hand the price fell, but the merchandise did not deteriorate in quality. Values fall not because of an increased supply, but because of less labor-time required for their production. "In the cases of general merchandise, prices in the long run tally with value. Not so with the special commodity labor-power." The lowering of the standard of a workingman's living consequent upon the competition in the labor market, reduced his pay below the value of his labor-power. If this were not the case, if the price of labor-power always co-incided with its value the capitalists could breathe easy.

De Leon decisively showed that under capitalism there is no equality between labor and capital. Instancing himself as a coal mine-owner, he said that as such his interests were to see the supply kept low so as to have the price kept high. And taking the audience as purchasers, its interests were to have the supply large and the price low. But he as seller could dictate the terms and the purchasers were powerless.

"Now take the case the other way. I am the employer needing labor. You are the sellers of labor. Before, you were purchasers, and I seller; now I am purchaser, and you the seller. Do you workingmen control your commodities the same as I as a seller did mine? You do not. There is no equality of labor with capital."

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YOUNG-CAMPBELL

Defence Committee Thanks Comrades and Sections for Prompt Assistance.

Manchester, Va., February 25.—Upon the arrest of Frank F. Young and Joseph P. Campbell, on January 1, while engaged in holding street meetings in Richmond in the interests of the S. L. P., a committee of four, consisting of H. A. Muller, Otto Biersch, Thos. A. Hollins and Alex. B. McCulloch, was elected by Section Richmond to take complete charge of all affairs in connection with the defence of the two S. L. P. organizers who had become the victims of capitalistic "law and order."

This committee, having finished its work, asks that the accompanying financial report be published in the Daily and the Weekly People, it being not merely a local matter, but one in which the N. E. C. and the membership at large took part.

It should be explained here that, on account of their arrest, Young and Campbell were detained here for five weeks, eight days of which time were spent in jail. By reason of local ordinances and the consequent danger of forfeiting a peace bond amounting to $400, they were deprived of the opportunity of selling literature, and the acute industrial depression which prevailed prevented them from obtaining employment in any line. This accounts for the principal item of disbursement—board. The cost of board is especially high in Richmond—higher, so Young and Campbell informed us, than in any city they had experience of.

The financial report is as follows:

RECEIPTS.

State Executive Committee of Virginia	$35.00
Section Newport News	14.00
Section Norfolk County	10.00
Section Richmond	16.50
Newport News Local Union, I. W. W.	5.00
Richmond Local Union, I. W. W.	5.00
Richmond Lodge, No. 10, International Association of Machinists	5.00
Harry Keller, Niagara Falls, N. Y.	.50
Carl Schluter and Friends, Boston	2.00
Charles Rohde, Sr., Patchogue, N. Y.	.50
Charles Rohde, Jr., Patchogue, N. Y.	.50
Leon Pilout, New York City	.50
G. W. Murphy, Barren Island, N. Y.	5.00
W. R. George, Wash'ton, D. C.	3.00
L. Lagerstedt, New York City	2,00
Remitted by Henry Kuhn, National Secretary (Contributions already acknowledged in Daily and Weekly People)	8.50
Collection taken at Richmond Mass Meeting	7.10
Total receipts	$120.10

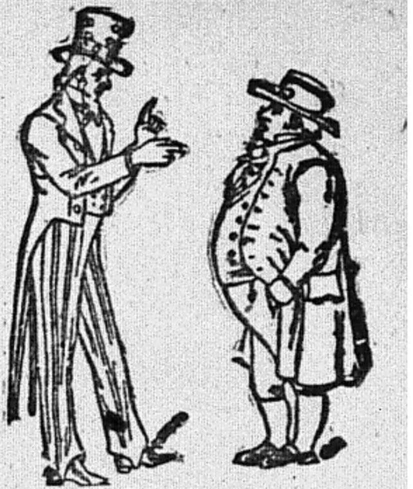
DISBURSEMENTS.

Board and incidental expenses of Comrades Young and Campbell for five weeks	48.10
Lawyer's Fee	15.00
Expenses of mass meeting—hall rent and printing	8.75
Railroad Fare of Comrades Young and Campbell from Richmond to Roanoke	7.10
Collection at mass meeting given to them	7.10
To Reimbursement of Virginia State Executive Committee	25.00
Forwarded to Henry Kuhn as contribution to Young-Campbell Literature Fund	9.05
Total Disbursements	$120.10

Shortly after the arrest of Campbell and Young, McDowell, State Secretary, of Newport News, came to Richmond and placed at our disposal practically every dollar in the State Committee's treasury—viz., $35. His prompt call to the Sections in this State brought forth immediate **responses.** Sections Newport News, **Norfolk County** and Richmond made quick reply with funds wherewith to press the fight for free speech. Section Roanoke sent us its pledge for $10, but has not forwarded the money as yet. At the meeting of Section Richmond, held last Sunday, Organizer Muller was instructed to turn over Section Roanoke's pledge to the State Executive Committee for collection. This, together with the $25 already returned to it, will reimburse the State treasury for the whole amount advanced to Section Richmond.

I was directed by Section Richmond to forward to the National Secretary the sum of $9.05 (the balance of all moneys contributed and pledged to our local defence fund) as a contribution to the

(Continued on page 6.)



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN, looking excited.

UNCLE SAM—What's the matter?

B. J.—I've been reading a Socialist screed that makes me tired.

U. S. (raising his eyebrows)—What about?

B. J. (with irritation)—Knocking the Anarchists!

U. S.—Have you become an Anarchist?

B. J. (bracing himself up and with a dare-devil look)—Yes; and I don't care who knows it!

U. S.—'Tis your right, old boy! 'Tis your right!

B. J.—And I do object to this nonsense that you Socialists get off against us.

U. S.—What nonsense is it we have been "getting off"?

B. J.—This pretence of "political action"!

U. S.—Oho!

B. J.—The screed I read admits that the ballot, without physical force to back it, is a rattle to entertain fools with.

U. S.—Is there any nonsense in that? Is the ballot worth anything without the physical force to back it?

B. J.—No. That's sensible enough.

U. S.—That makes one charge of nonsense knocked out. Bring up the next.

B. J.—Well, the nonsense lies in that very sentence. If the ballot is a rattle, unless there is physical force back of it, then it must be sheer nonsense to bother with the ballot at all. Physical force will have to be used anyhow. Why not start with physical force? What's the sense in frittering away energy on the ballot, when it needs backing. That's nonsense; sheer nonsense; — nonsense, I say.

U. S.—And I say you made a mistake to invite me to that meeting of Anarchists the other night.

B. J.—How so?

U. S.—Because I saw you people elect a sergeant-at-arms—

B. J.—Why shouldn't we? We want order at our meetings.

U. S.—Was there any disorder before you elected the sergeant-at-arms?

B. J.—No; but there might be. And there has been disorder before; and we found it harder to elect a sergeant-at-arms after the disorder started than before. We simply provided for the emergency. There were several people there who we know would create a disturbance if they had a chance. That's why we elected a sergeant-at-arms. And we gave them warning.

U. S.—And you thereby did the very thing you claim is nonsense, when done by the Socialists. If it is nonsense to try the ballot first before using physical force, then it is nonsense to give the disturbers warning before firing them out.

B. J. begins to look silly.

U. S.—If sense consists in starting to fight first and discarding the ballot, then sense would have consisted at your meeting in starting to put out the known disturbers before settling down to business.

B. J. looks still sillier.

U. S.—If, seeing the necessity for physical force is possible, or even probable, therefore, the use of the peaceful means of the ballot is nonsense, then, seeing the necessity for a sergeant-at-arms at your meeting was probable, you were a lot of perambulating lumps of nonsense in not starting to work with your sergeant-at-arms first.

B. J.—Well, I did make an ass of myself!

U. S.—Jonathan, the man who can see and, furthermore, admit his error—that man is no ass. Such a man erred, and one or another, he was bound to discover his error; admit it, as you do; and strike solid ground again. You erred. You were humbugged with sounding phrases. But you did worse. There never is an error, but it spreads the area of error, like a contagion. The moment you took in the Anarchist microbe, you helped spread it——

B. J.—I didn't!—

U. S.—You did unconsciously. The error that is not fought is an error that is encouraged. By not fighting the error, seeing you believed in it, you encouraged it. Now, then, redeem yourself by resisting the police-spy-inviting fatal error of pure and simple bombism. Fight it everywhere.

MARX ON MALLOCK

(Continued from page 3.)

ural and must continue to be." The answer to the second question which I trust you have in mind will settle this point more completely.

You will, I hope, wish to know how did the capitalist come by the capital which, according to Marx, he starts in possession of. Upon this subject all histories are eloquent—whether they be sober ones, like Bacon's history of Henry VII, or Mark Twain's story of "The Prince and the Pauper." The capital that the capitalist starts with, at the logical and historical starting point of capitalist production, is the product of unqualified and undisguised *rapine*. Nor is it, nor could it be different in America. First, profiting by the rapine committed by the European usurpers in expropriating the peasantry, the American bourgeois was furnished, through immigration, with an ideal proletariat for human raw material for exploitation; and, next, he "helped himself." Fraudulent failures, fraudulent fires, misappropriation of trust funds, and such other "ability"-denoting manoeuvres without exception supplemented the "original accumulation" with which the American capitalist historically stepped upon the stage, and an important part of which was the human raw material which he imported from abroad. Summing up the review of the process, Marx pithily says on page 785:

"If money, according to Augier, 'comes into the world with a congenital blood-stain on one cheek,' capital comes dripping from head to foot from every pore, with blood and dirt"; and no capitalist has since appeared with the requisite starter, or "original accumulation," free from the smut.

Accordingly, neither as a principle in philosophy, nor as a principle in morals is the capitalist entitled to aught. His power is the result of usurpation. He is "necessary" and the workers "helpless" only as long as the travelers in the desert would tolerate the power and "necessity" of the bandits who appropriated the well.

I am done. But before closing I ask to be indulged in paraphrasing Marx.

There was in Marx's time another Oxford professor—Mallock also is an Oxford professor—Nassau W. Senior, who invented as beautiful a nursery tale as Mallock in defense of the capitalists. Of this Senior, Marx says on page 207:

"One fine morning, in the year 1836, Nassau W. Senior, who may be called the bel-esprit of English economists, well known, alike for his economic 'science,' and for his beautiful style, was summoned from Oxford to Manchester, to learn, in the latter place, the political economy that he taught in the former." The invention of Senior was a masterpiece of economic acrobatics; it was akin to Mallock's acrobatics concerning the fruitfulness of "The Few" and their consequent right to the "increment." Senior's performance Senior called the "Last Hour"—a prodigy by which Senior strove to show that if the hours of labor were shortened hunger and want would stalk through the land. Marx took hold of the gentleman's theory, and tore it to tatters, and then flung the pieces back in his face with a beautiful imaginary apostrophe that summed up the situation. I shall make bold to imitate Marx by closing this address with an apostrophe to Mallock, this latter-day Oxford professor who was summoned by the Civic Federation of capitalists to learn in New York the political economy that he is to teach in Oxford—

Kind Sir, by clothing your theory in the garb of science you have deprived it of the only chance it had to float. You should have clad it in the garb of the miraculous. Paul Lafargue neatly ridiculed it in advance with two pretty epigrams. Your labored effort to prove "The Few" the source of all "increment," he neatly epitomized with the sentence: "The idleness of the capitalist is the source of all wealth." Your labored effort to prove that to "The Few" the "increment" belongs, he triturated with the terse sentence: "Wealth is the product of Labor and the reward of Idleness."

Kind Sir, you dislocate society and you supplement the surgical operation with a miracle. Society is no dislocated entity. The elements requisite for modern production—manual and directing ability—are closely joined and jointed. They are not independent of, they are dependent upon each other, like the various organs of one body; and that body social is the *Working Class*.

Kind Sir, when you say that the increment of wealth which results from the modern method of production comes from "The Few," you utter a sentiment that is at war with a lofty human sentiment that has animated all noble breasts since remotest antiquity and which it has been reserved to the Socialist Movement to bring down from the mists of unpracticability, and to furnish it with a solid basis upon which to plant itself. The great moral sentiment of the Brotherhood of Man becomes a fertile sentiment for practical conduct only when the material conditions have developed to the point of exposing the swagger of Individualism; to the point of revealing the fact that Individualism is a fetter to human brotherhood and to individuality alike; finally to the point of disclosing the means for the realization of the aspiration of human brotherhood. Individuality can not be developed in penury. The power to dispel penury is a latent power in *mankind*. Your intellect is still at the barbarian's stage that dislocates the capabilities of the species by imputing them to a caste. That the caste of "The Few" is purely imaginary may be all the more creditable to your imagination, but all the more discreditable to your grasp of social science.

Kind Sir, vast as our astonishment is at your discovery of the useful activity of your "The Few," their own astonishment at the discovery, through you, must have been vaster still.

Kind Sir, we do not deny that "The Few" are active. Nobody denies that. Their activity is intense. It is, however, not an activity that *produces*, it is the pickpocket's activity which *transfers* wealth from those to whom it belongs to those to whom it does not belong. It is a conspicuous activity as conspicuous as the Czar's activity—and as deadly.

Kind Sir, your attitude illustrates two Marxian principles—the imperviousness of a usurping class to sense, and the fatality that pursues a class whose historic mission is ended, and yet would hold the stage. If the usurping class of "The Few" were not impervious to sense you, who surely do not mean to falsify facts, would never have incurred the blunder of palpably misstating Marx; if the mission of "The Few" were not over and they could realize the fact, such a distinguished spokesman of their caste as yourself would not be seen indulging in the contortions necessary to avoid the term *co-operation*, and thereby seek to escape its consequences.

Finally, kind Sir, your argument is welcome to the Socialist—highly welcome. If such a travesty of Fact and Reason as you present against Socialism is the strongest attack possible—then we Socialists feel re-strengthened in our position that Labor is the sole producer of all wealth, and, therefore, all wealth belongs to Labor.

In the language that Marx closes his apostrophe with in the instance of Senior, I say:

"And now, good sir, farewell, and may we meet again in yonder better world—but not before."

[Stenographically reported by the Waldo Typewriting Co.]

LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.

J. K., NEW YORK.—The "Closed Shop" is a craft union principle. In the mouth of the craft union the principle means that the shop shall be closed against all the workers whom the union chooses to keep out of the union. The effect of the principle is what we see to-day—the bulk of the workers outside of union organization.

C. J. B., BUFFALO, N. Y.—A good biography of Eugene Sue, giving the list of his works and the persecutions he and they suffered, will be highly acceptable.

J. B. NEW YORK.—Address Arthur Baker, Editor "Amerika Esperantisto." Chicago, Ill.

J. F., McKEESPORT, PA. — How would, under Socialism, the man who owns nothing but his hands get a portion of the land on which to labor?—The question implies a contradiction. It implies the Socialist social order, where production is co-operative on a large scale, and it implies at the same time individual production on the small individual scale—evidently a contradictory assumption.

Under Socialism the necessaries for production—land and capital—are collectively owned by the whole people, and are operated collectively in each industry. No man starts, under Socialism, with nothing but his hands. He starts with his hands and his social share in the necessaries for work. That furnishes him with the necessary space of land on which to stand and work co-operately in whatever branch of production he may choose.

Next question next week.

W. D. R., WARREN, PA.—The most vicious slave-holders were not the large ones; the most vicious were the owners of one "Nigger." So to-day. Nothing can equal the vindictive malice of the members of Gompers' Cigarmakers' Union, whose heart is nailed to the $550 coffin benefit which they expect when they die. Such people are so insanely incensed at the facts that The People exposes against their antiquated guild system of unionism that they fear their coffin will fall to pieces, and simply lie against the Editor of The People. Their lies should be too obviously ridiculous to pass muster with any thinking man. It will be noticed they never dare to put their charges in writing over their signatures.

Next question next week.

H. H. R., CHAMPAIGN, ILL.—Machinery increases the army of the unemployed permanently. The circumstance that machinery eliminates skill, and therefore a shoemaker can now more easily become a motorman, and *vice versa*, is no proof that improved machinery in the shoe trade displaces labor only temporarily. What that circumstance brings about is that, the bulk of the workers being left disorganized by the craft unions, a strike of workers in almost any one industry can be easily broken. In the absence of improved machinery it took long to acquire a trade; at such a time the places of strikers in any one trade could be taken only by men of that trade. To-day they can be taken in a short time by men of almost any trade.

Next question next week.

I. L. H., ALEXANDRIA, IND.—1st. If but 100,000 people were to write to this office and demand a personal answer, the small force of this office would have to be turned from journalistic to letter-writing work, and it would be worn to a bone besides. If these 100,000 people, besides demanding a personal letter, failed to enclose a 2-cent stamp, it would bankrupt this office. Their action would cost them only two cents apiece, but the meeting of their demand would cost this office $2,000. It can use its money to better purpose.

2nd. The Movement must depend upon men and women who are un-buzzable. This office has no time for counter-buzzing.

E. S. BROOKLYN, N. Y.—The proletariat is part and parcel of the capitalist's assets. Not Rockefeller, with all his billions, could add a penny to his hoard if, besides his billions, he did not have the proletarians hungry and dependent at his mercy, compelled to sell themselves to him in wage slavery. With the mass of proletarians, whom the capitalist treats like cattle, plus his capital, which the capitalist uses as a whip to drive the cattle with, he makes his profits.

N. M. H., JERSEY CITY, N. J.—The work of Dr. Hefell, bishop of Rottenburg, is considered the best modern history of the oecumenical councils. The work has probably been translated into English.

A. S., LOUISVILLE, KY.—As stated by The People—in the answer to Sandgren's first letter which called upon the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Party to "break up camp" and join the I. W. W.—just so soon as the I. W. W. will have gathered sufficient solidity to reflect its own political party, the S. L. P. "will 'break up camp' with a shout of joy, if a body merging into its own ideal can be said to 'break up camp.'" That day has not yet come. To break up camp now would be to play into the hands of the pure and simple political Socialists, who sell out the Movement, and simultaneously into the hands of the pure and simple dynamiters, who would assassinate the Movement. THE S. L. P. WILL NEVER DO THAT.

J. H. H., QUINCY, ILL.—The Single Tax, no more than Socialism, is a sort of tapeworm any limb of which can be torn from the body and yet preserve an independent existence, and remain tapeworm.

Socialism holds that the cause of involuntary poverty is the private ownership of the necessaries to produce—the social and natural opportunities—capital and land, and that the collective ownership of these will solve the Social Question.

The Single Tax holds that the cause of involuntary poverty is the private appropriation of land values, and that by removing all taxes and leaving a tax single upon land values, the Social Question is solved.

Each theory is a compact whole, every limb thereof dependent upon all the others.

Therefore—

If the reasoning were correct that, because Socialism would charge a man the full rental value of the land, which he occupies exclusively for his private use, therefore "the Single Tax is Socialism applied to land,"—if that reasoning is correct then it would follow that this other reasoning is correct also, to wit: "Seeing that a cow (a formation of the Mammalia class) has a tail, and the cow-bird (a formation of the Bird class) also has a tail, therefore the Bird formation is Mammalianism applied to tails."

Next point next week.

J. G., DIGHTON, KAN.—The communication you speak of has not been received in this office.

S. M. S., LOS ANGELES, CAL.—Tricks of that sort are fishy. There is but one way to handle them—immediate exposure. The longer the delay in the exposure, the greater the danger to the character of the one tricked.

ALL OTHERS.—Wait till next week.

K. R., DENVER, COLO.; J. K., JAMAICA PLAIN, MASS.; G. M. S. PROVIDENCE, R. I.; "READER," VALDOSTA, GA.; S. S., LOS ANGELES, CAL.; E. C., PROVIDENCE, R. I.; M. A. G., HERRIN, ILL.; M. R. P. and J. S., CARSON CITY, NEV.; W F. H., KANSAS CITY MO.; G. F. S., ST. PAUL, MINN.; P. J., YONKERS, N. Y.; J. C., MURKER, UTAH; F. O., NEW YORK, N. Y.; B. S. F., CINCINNATI, O.; P. R., DOWNSVILLE, N. Y.; W. C., PARAISO, CANAL ZONE, PANAMA.—Matter received.

UNEMPLOYED ARRESTED; STRIKE.

Laboring Man Not Allowed to Look for Work—Authorities Order Flogging.

Waldosta, Ga., February 25.—The authorities about this town are heaping most indecent treatment upon unemployed workingmen. Seven of the latter have been arrested as "vagrants" while looking for jobs and placed in the chain gang. They were sent out building roads.

On last Wednesday these men refused to submit longer to such injustice and would not work. Superintendent Clay of Thomas County attempted to persuade the men to go to work, but they would not do so. Their leader said:

"We are placed here in a worse condition than that of the worst criminals on earth. We have to wear these stripes and these heavy chains. We have committed no crime on God's earth or transgressed any moral law. We were just trying to make our way to work, so that we could send money to our mothers and folks."

The matter was reported to the authorities and Superintendent Clay was instructed to apply the lash if the men continued in their course. This was attempted by some guards. They tried to take one man off the chain at a time but the others held him and all efforts to separate them proved useless. More guards will be sent out to put the instruction of the authorities into effect.

It was remarked by some that to be out of work is in itself hard enough to bear, but to be punished for it is unbearable.

The People is a good broom to brush the cobwebs from the minds of the workers. Buy a copy and pass it around.

AS TO UNITY

[In this column, and under the above head, will be reproduced the official acts taken by the Socialist Labor Party and Socialist Party organizations on the Unity Resolutions, adopted by the National Executive Committee of the S. L. P., at its semi-annual session, January 5-8 of this year, and also extracts, without comment, from S. L. P., S. P., and other papers, on the said resolutions.]

[From Local Park City, Utah, S. P.]

Whereas, We consider the present factional fight in the Socialist ranks to be injurious and detrimental to the best interests of the party.

Whereas, We fail to see any important factor at issue between the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party. Therefore be it

Resolved, By the Socialist Party of Park City, Utah, that we favor a unification of the two parties and recommend a conference for that purpose, at the earliest possible date, so we may be able to put up a solid front in the campaign of 1908.

And that copies of this resolution be sent to the Official Bulletin, and the Weekly People for publication.

Fraternally,
P. Langford, Sec'y.

[From the International Socialist Review, S. P., February issue.]

The Social Democratic Herald and the Christian Socialist have both come out emphatically against union with the Socialist Labor Party on any terms. But to our mind, if the Socialist Party were to vote down Comrade Lee's motion it would put itself in a false position before the Socialists of other countries; and the unorganized Socialist sympathizers of the United States. If our party refuses to negotiate, it will fairly be held responsible for the failure to unite. The rational course seems to be to go into the conference, and then stand for the right of the membership as a whole to run the affairs of the consolidated party in accordance with the will of the majority. Roughly estimated the membership of the Socialist Party is rather more than 30,000, while that of the Socialist Labor Party is rather less than 3,000. If the 3,000 will not unite unless the 30,000 will reverse their tactics and methods in some such way as was suggested by Local Realands, California, then the responsibility for the failure of the union will rest on the Socialist Labor Party, and the more desirable members of that party will be likely to leave the sinking ship and join the Socialist Party. On the other hand, if the Socialist Labor Party is willing to accept the principles of majority rule and work with us on that basis, this will be pretty good proof that the misgivings of some of our own members are unfounded.

[From "New Yorker Volkszeitung," (S. P.) Feb. 23. By Rob. Uhlich, Trinidad, Colo.]

An honorable man will never look upon the S. L. P. as a comrade. . . . Four months ago, a "convinced" S. L. P. man in Texas assured me that his Party had approximately 300 members. He did not say whether the same were on paper or good-standing. According to him the Daily People has

(Continued on page 6.)

NEW JERSEY STATE CONVENTION OF THE S. L. P.

REPORT OF THE STATE SECRETARY—REPORT OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN—RESOLUTIONS ENDORSING UNITY, ENDORSING THE I. W. W. AND THE CONDUCT OF THE EDITOR OF THE PEOPLE, AND RECOMMENDING 'RAGIONE NUOVA'—NOMINATION OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS AND OF CANDIDATES TO CONGRESS—NEW SEAT OF STATE COMMITTEE—ACTIVE PREPARATIONS FOR THE CAMPAIGN DECIDED ON—ROUSING CLOSING SPEECHES.

Newark, N. J., February 24.—The State Convention of the Socialist Labor Party of New Jersey was held Saturday, February 22, at 128 Bergen street, Newark, N. J.

The Secretary of the State Committee, John C. Butterworth, called the convention to order at 10:30 o'clock in the morning, and called for nominations for temporary chairman. Ulrich Frueh, of Passaic county, was unanimously elected. Katz of Passaic county and Hemberg of Hudson county were nominated for temporary secretary; Katz was elected.

A credential committee of four was elected, consisting of delegates Hartung, Oakes, Rees and Romary.

A recess was then taken to give the committee time to act upon credentials.

After the recess the credential committee reported favorably upon all credentials, the report was received and the following delegates seated:

Essex County—Herrman Hartung, Ernest Leske, David Goldberg, Abe Tenfowitch, G. A. Johnson.

Hudson County—Hemberg, Harry Oakes, Grupe and Maas.

Passaic County—Ernest Romary, Ulrich Frueh, Fred. W. Ball, Rudolph Katz, John Dietrich, H. Diamond.

Union County—Sandberg, J. Rees.

For the State Committee—John C. Butterworth.

The following committees were then elected:

On Rules and Regulations—Hemberg, Corlin, Romary.

On Organization—Leske, Dietrich, Sandberg.

On Press and Literature—French, Johnson, Oakes.

On Ways and Means—Butterworth, Tenfowitch, Hartung.

On Resolutions—Katz, Tenfowitch, Diamond.

Auditing Committee—Leske, Hemberg, Rees, Grupe.

The Secretary of the State Committee submitted the following report:

Paterson, N. J., Feb. 22, 1908.

To the Twenty-fifth Annual Convention of the Socialist Labor Party of New Jersey.

Comrades:—Nothing very extraordinary has taken place in the Movement in this State since last we met in annual convention. After the last convention your State Committee immediately took steps to get the ticket in the field by getting the petition lists out and circulated. Comrade Frank F. Young was sent out on a short tour in an effort to reach the voters in unorganized districts, but the funds at our disposal for this purpose being very limited, the tour had to be cut short.

Just at present the Party work in the State is quiet, many of our comrades being out of work and unable to lend a hand as heretofore. In Paterson, for the past two or three weeks, the Section has had comrade Georgevitch canvassing for the Party's German organ with the gratifying results of near one half hundred subscriptions since he started in.

At our last convention, James Connolly, the then N. E. C. member, reported certain matters in connection with the Party Press of which a subsequent investigation showed that he had misrepresented the facts, as a result of which he was withdrawn from the office of N. E. C. member by a vote of the Sections and comrade Eck of Section Hoboken elected in his place.

From Headquarters we hear that work for the Party Press is falling behind in this State. Much more attention should be given to this method of propaganda by our Sections—no form of agitation has such lasting results as the thorough and widespread circulation of our press.

The results of the elections were not very remarkable; still, we had a slight increase in our vote over the previous year. Economic conditions asserted themselves in the campaign, giving a glimpse of the class struggle, but befuddled reform drove the voters into the arms of the Republican party. While faith in the pure and simple unionism is waning it cannot be said that the correct economic organization has taken firm root in the State outside of Paterson, where it is a factor of importance. Until we have the class-conscious economic groundwork of the movement little can be expected from the caprice of the voters.

In this connection it is of interest to consider an article which appeared in the "Socialist Review," Socialist party organ of West Hoboken, in which the writer, James M. Reilly, shows that in the county of Hudson the Socialist Labor Party vote in 1898 was nearly 1,800 votes. That was the year before the split. Now after nine years, the combined vote of the S. L. P. and S. P. is about 2,300 in the same county. Reilly shows that in other States the condition is the same, and in some instances worse. He comes to the conclusion that the policy of his party in catering to the pure and simple unions has not brought success in vote getting, and he considers that in the light of the returns of the past few years it seems reasonable to suppose that had the "split" not taken place and the S. L. P. position toward the economic movement been maintained, the Socialist strength would at least be as great as now and the vote much more reliable.

Commenting on these facts so ably set forth by comrade Reilly, we would say that it is a matter of gratification to see that the honest rank and file of the Socialist party are learning the lesson that we have learned, and which, for the welfare of the movement, it is well that they too made the experience—and that lesson is that whatever else pure and simple unionism is conducive of, one thing is certain, it is not conducive of promotion of class feeling, class action and class solidarity. In a word, pure and simple unionism is not conducive to working class interest, and claiming as it does to be working class, and proven to be not conducive thereto, the only logical conclusion is that it is a block to working class interest, and that is putting it mildly.

It has been the historic policy of the Socialist Labor Party to promote by all the means in its power the growth of class-conscious economic organization, and signs are not wanting that others not in our ranks are coming to recognize the correctness of the general principles for which we have so long and arduously battled. The means whereby we can most effectively spread the knowledge of these correct principles is through our Party Press and literature, and our work here to-day should be chiefly concerned with how we may more effectively and efficiently do that work.

For the New Jersey State Executive Committee,
John C. Butterworth,
Secretary.

The report of the secretary was received and the various recommendations contained therein referred to the proper committees.

On motion, National Committeeman Julius Eck submitted his report, which was also accepted and is as follows:

Report of the N. E. C. Member from New Jersey to the New Jersey State Convention, Held in Newark, Feb. 22, 1908.

Greeting:—

Comrades:—As you know, I was elected to fill the unexpired term of my predecessor, who had been withdrawn for misrepresentation in his report to the last New Jersey State Convention.

The first meeting of the National Executive Committee which I attended was the July session of 1907. Comrades, I am sorry that I must report that the time of the N. E. C. at this session, instead of being used to do and to outline constructive work to be done by the S. L. P., was mostly consumed by what is termed the controversy between the N. E. C. Sub-Committee and the N. E. C. All of you have undoubtedly read the minutes of that session published in the Party press, and for this reason it is not necessary for me to give a detailed account of what happened there.

That meetings were held by Section New York after the adjournment of the July session of the N. E. C. for the purpose of discussing the controversy between the N. E. C. Sub-Committee and the N. E. C. you, through our official organ, were made aware of. For my own information, and wishing to keep in touch with all that was happening, I attended all of those meetings.

For the purpose of information as to the contention that the N. E. C. had voted away its rights in the January session of 1907, permit me to report an incident which happened at one of the above meetings of Section New York, which incident must dispel all doubt as to the correctness of the N. E. C. in its July, 1907, session recording itself as having voted upon the rights of the N. E. C. Sub-Committee only, on the contested question of jurisdiction over the Party press.

John T. Vaughan, while speaking and falsely contending that the N. E. C. had "knowingly changed" the motion afterwards in its July, 1907, session, at this

(Continued on page 6.)

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Henry Kuhn, National Secretary pro tem
28 City Hall Place.
CANADIAN S. L. P.
National Secretary, W. D. Forbes, 412 Wellington Road, London, Ont.
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.
(The Party's literary agency.)
28 City Hall Place, N. Y. City.

Notice—For technical reasons no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesday, 10 p. m.

VIRGINIA STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The State Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party in Virginia met in regular session on Feb. 23, with Bader in the chair.

The roll call showed all the members present.

Motion to correct minutes of last meeting re the S .E. C. not appealing for outside aid in Young-Campbell case. Minute should read "That the State Secretary be instructed to write to National Secretary and ask for funds. Motion carried, three voting for and two against."

Motion to correct minutes re Bader being absent and to state he was absent and excused.

Correspondence: From Henry Kuhn re thirty-five cents levy for International Bureau and general party affairs.

Motion made and passed that recording secretary place minutes before State Executive Committee for approval before publication.

Motion that State Secretary be instructed to write to the organizer of Section Richmond for information of court proceedings and financial report re Young and Campbell affair.

The financial report was read and adopted. There being no further business the meeting adjourned.

F. Buxton, Rec. Secy.

PENNSYLVANIA STATE COMMITTEE.

The State Executive Committee of Pennsylvania, Socialist Labor Party, met at 3109 Sarah street, Sunday, Feb. 23, with Rupp as chairman. Present: Gray, Weber, Rupp, Thomas, Kephart, Layton and Clark. Absent: Drugmand, Male, Markley, Clever and Herrington.

Minutes of last regular meeting were read and approved.

Communications were received from Secretary Kuhn, calling attention to the financial obligations of the Party. From Section Philadelphia giving names of newly elected officers. From Fritz Werdenberg, member of Section New York, asking for admission to Penna. membership at large and enclosing dues. From Section Erie giving list of new officers and financial report. From Thos. Wielding, enclosing dues. From Robert Richardson, application for membership at large.

On motion, communications were received, acted on and filed.

Motion by Kephart that Werdenberg be received as member at large; carried.

Motion by Kephart that Secretary call attention of Sections to necessity of paying International Bureau assessment; carried.

Motion by Thomas that Richardson be accepted as member at large; carried.

Warrant for $25.03 to cover expense for January ordered drawn.

Bill from 26th Ward Branch for rent ordered paid.

Secretary was instructed to secure fifty International Bureau assessment stamps.

Motion to adjourn, carried.

L. M. Barhydt, Secretary.

DE LEON IN NEW BEDFORD.

Daniel De Leon will speak on "Industrial Unionism" in New Bedford, Mass., SUNDAY, March 8, under the auspices of Local Union 157, Industrial Workers, at 2:30 p. m., in Odd Fellows' Hall. De Leon is well known to the working men and women of New Bedford, and the hall is expected to be crowded to its capacity.

BUFFALO LECTURES.

Free lectures and discussion are held every Sunday afternoon, 3:30 o'clock, at Florence Parlors, 527 Main street.

SUNDAY, March 8.—"Can the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Party Unite." Speaker, Boris Reinstein.

SUNDAY, March 15. — "Paris Commune and the Lessons to Be Learned." Speaker, Leander A. Armstrong.

PROVIDENCE LECTURE.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, of New York, will deliver a lecture "Woman and Socialism," under the auspices of Section Providence, on SUNDAY, March 15th, at 3 p. m., in Arnold Post Hall, 84 Westminster street. Questions invited after lecture. Open discussion. Admission free.

OPERATING FUND.

Toiling down on the Isthmus of Panama are many friends of the S. L. P. press. Unable to do much down there to further the Movement they nevertheless continue to send generous support to keep things going here. Last week they sent us a total of $34.75 to this fund. Other contributions brought the total for the week up to $66.05.

H. Cody, Panama	$ 5.00
"Come Again," "	5.00
John Lissell, "	1.00
H. Burger, "	2.00
J. Mahoney, "	2.00
J. Wold, "	2.00
G.Bushby, "	1.00
J. Sweeney, "	1.00
C. Kohler, "	1.00
J. Hassett, "	1.00
J. Brennan, "	2.00
Sam Warjii, "	1.00
H. Lake, "	1.00
R. Smith, "	.25
E. Filis, "	1.00
C. Perry, "	1.00
E. Boogs, "	1.00
J. Calizo, "	1.00
L. Mononni, "	1.00
L. Warjii, "	1.00
A. H. Sweeney, "	1.00
Van Taylor, "	2.00
Wm. Donns, "	.50
P. Merquelin, Plainfield, N. J.	2.00
Chas. Hauk, Rome, N. Y.	1.00
Albert Gay, Philadelphia	1.00
A. Schwartz, Seattle, Wash.	1.00
A. C. Wirtz, Barstow, Cal.	2.00
W. D. McHeath, Schenectady, N. Y.	1.00
G. Langner, Milford, Conn.	2.50
Section Albany, N. Y.	4.00
W. S. & D. B. Fund, Branch 127, E. Dedham, Mass.	2.00
W. S. & D. B. Fund, Branch 31, Lynn, Mass.	2.00
W. D. & S. B. Fund, Branch 146, Braddock, Pa.	1.00
W. S. & D. B. Fund, Branch 21, Manchester, N. H.	2.00
W. S. & D. B. Fund, Branch 231, Lincoln, Ill.	1.00
W. S. & D. B. Fund, Branch 93, Peoria, Ill. ..	1.00
O. J. Hughes, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
J. W. Stewart, Tucson, Ariz.	2.25
Good Luck	.05
N. N. G., Newark, N. J. ..	1.00
H. Traurig, New York	.50
I. W. W. Local 67, Jersey City, N. J.	3.00
Total	$ 66.05
Previously acknowledged ..	1,783.87
Grand Total	$1,849.92

YOUNG-CAMPBELL LITERATURE FUND.

Received to date, Feb. 29th, the following items:—

O. J. Hughes, Brooklyn, N. Y.	$1.00
Young-Campbell Defence Committee of Section Richmond, Va.	9.05
Total	$10.05

Henry Kuhn, Nat. Sec. pro tem.

DETROIT COMMUNE CELEBRATION.

Section Detroit, Socialist Labor Party, has arranged to celebrate the Paris Commune in Colombo Hall, 255 Gratiot Ave., SUNDAY, March 15, at 2:30 p. m. Wm. E. Bohn, Instructor in Rhetoric at the University of Michigan, will be the principal speaker. Theme: "The Lessons of the Paris Commune." The program will be announced at hall. All comrades and readers should not forget the date and place and bring along your friends. Admission free.

PHILA. I. W. W. LECTURE.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn will deliver an address on SUNDAY, March 8, at Lewars Hall, Ninth and Spring Garden streets, evening at 8 o'clock. Subject: "A Message of Hope to the Workers." This meeting is held under the auspices of Phila. District Council, Industrial Workers of the World.

MILWAUKEE COMMUNE CELEBRATION.

Section Milwaukee, Socialist Labor Party, will celebrate the Paris Commune on SUNDAY, March 8, at Bohemian Turn Hall, corner of Twelfth and Vine streets. The principal feature of the programme will be living pictures. Speeches will be made in English and German. A ball will be held in the evening. Admission ten cents; after six o'clock, evening, twenty-five cents.

BUFFALO PEDRO PARTY AND DANCE

Section Erie County, Socialist Labor Party, will have a Pedro Party and Dance on SATURDAY evening, March 21, at Florence Parlors, 527 Main street. All members, friends and sympathizers are invited to take part in the good time.

NEW JERSEY STATE CONVENTION OF THE S. L. P.

(Continued from page 5.)

meeting made a statement, which in the same meeting was cited and Vaughan was asked by myself whether I had understood him right, to which Vaughan replied in the affirmative. Vaughan's statement was to the effect that after the motion touching upon the jurisdiction over the Party press was passed, he heard De Leon make the statement: "Of course, if the N. E. C. wants me to publish anything I shan't refuse them." This does not leave the shadow of a doubt that in reality the N. E. C. only considered the powers of the N. E. C. Sub-Committee, and not those of the N. E. C. Accordingly, the N. E. C.'s action in its July, 1907, session in concluding that what was really voted upon was whether the N. E. C. Sub-Committee shall have the power to insert official matter, etc. in the Party press is wholly justified, and it is to be hoped that the time of this Convention will not be wasted in discussing this matter which now has been fully clarified.

That the time of the January session of 1908 of the N. E. C. had again to be used on the continuing controversy between the N. E. C. Sub-Committee and the N. E. C., is a fact which is deplorable. With the proceedings of this session you are also aware through our Party press, and it is hardly necessary to dwell at length upon them. The acceptance of the resignation of our then National Secretary was preceded by contradictory actions on his part, which resulted in my issuing a circular letter to the N. E. C. in support of a motion made by the N. E. C.-man from Connecticut to abolish the assistant national secretaryship. Certain exigencies justified the issuing of this circular letter, and though my judgment was criticised, I hold that taking everything pertaining to this matter into consideration, I only did what I was dutybound to do as a member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party.

One action of the N. E. C. in its last session deserves mentioning in this report. I refer to the adoption of the resolution, on the basis of which the two Socialist parties of America may be united.

It might be mentioned here that the action of the New Jersey State Committee of the Socialist Party in seeking to peremptorily quash the unity proposition tastes decidedly of usurpation of power.

In conclusion, a few words as to our party, our party press, and the general outlook for our movement. Amongst us there is hardly a single one whom the present panic has not financially affected somewhat. What is true of us individually, is also true of the institution which is mainly dependent on our efforts, i. e., our party press. Without exaggeration we can pride ourselves in having accomplished a Herculean feat in tiding our party press over the present financial difficulties. With pride we can point to the fact that so far our party press, party owned and party controlled, has proved a success. What is true of the past, must become true in the future. The work of this convention can be put to no better use than in providing ways and means, and in arousing enthusiasm and fixed determination that not only must our party press be kept alive, but that it must be put on a better footing than ever before. Our literature, with the Sue publications last but by far not least, must also be pushed, for in the measure that we spread the necessary means of education amongst the working class, in that measure will our movement grow and gain ever wider influence. In the measure that we sow in this respect, in that measure will we reap. The position of the Socialist Labor Party is a beautifully clear one. Never before in the history of the world did a revolutionary movement develop which is so thoroughly practical in all of its aspirations, aims and objects. Let us see to it that when harvesting time comes, we have sown early enough for our harvest to be ripe. Let us set the slogan of Karl Marx "Workingmen of all countries unite" aringing, so that when we again meet in convention next year, each and every one of us will be conscious of having accomplished something substantial to unite the working class industrially and politically for their final emancipation.

Fraternally,

Julius Eck,
N. E. C. member from New Jersey, of the Socialist Labor Party.

The convention adjourned to give the committees time to work.

At 2 p. m. the convention again went into session.

The temporary officers were made permanent. The committee on rules and regulations made its report. The same was taken up seriatim and the following recommendations adopted:

1. Five minutes' time limit on all motions and amendments.
2. Voting by show of hands, unless roll call is demanded.
3. Only delegates to have the right to speak on all questions, unless the floor be given by a majority vote of delegates.
4. Non-delegates to sit apart for regular delegates.
5. That a sergeant-at-arms be elected.

Woodhouse was elected sergeant-at-arms.

The Committee on Ways and Means submitted its report and the plan of raising funds for the coming campaign will be communicated through the State Committee to all sections and branches.

The Committee on Organization recommended

1. That organizers be sent into organized counties and an effort be made to build up weak sections before work is taken up in new fields.
2. That sections report to the State Committee the activity and ability of paid organizers.

Both recommendations were adopted.

The Committee on Press and Literature recommended the endorsement of official organs and publications of the Socialist Labor Party—Daily and Weekly People, Sozialistische Arbeiter Zeitung, Der Arbeiter, Arbetaren, Nepakarat, Ragione Nuova and all literature published through the National Executive Committee.

The Committee also recommended the adoption of the plan advocated by Section Salt Lake City of securing subs to The People, and also to push the sale of the Sue books in the manner known as the Kircher plan.

The recommendations were adopted.

Committee on Resolutions submitted the following resolutions:

ON UNITY.

Resolved, That this convention endorses the action of the National Executive Committee in taking steps to remove the seeming share of the Socialist Labor Party in the disrupted and backward condition of the revolutionary movement in the land.

Resolved, That the day has come when all those who are earnestly bent upon the formation of a healthy political movement that shall not be a movement of politicians, but a political movement of the nature that Marx's genius foreshadowed as the inevitable political branch of the Labor Movement, must come together, casting off, on the one side, that impatient element that would put the cart before the horse and adopt anarchist methods, and on the other side that self-seeking element which sees in the political movement only a means of personal advertisement.

Adopted.

ON I. W. W.

Resolved, That we recognize the I. W. W. as the only bona fide economic organization of the working class, which every workingman ought to join.

Resolved, That inasmuch as we recognize the necessity of ascertaining the truth in all instances, we welcome the fullest publicity of the controversy within the I. W. W., providing the same is fully backed up by documentary proof; and be it further

Resolved, That we endorse the action of the Editor of Daily People in aiding the clarification of the issue between the contending sides within the I. W. W.

Moved to segregate above resolution. Motion lost. The resolution was adopted.

ON RAGIONE NUOVA.

Resolved, That we urge upon the members of the S. L. P. to support the official organ of the S. L. P. in the Italian language, the "Ragione Nuova."

Report of Auditing Committee.

Total receipts	$193.95
Expenses	136.60
Cash balance	$ 57.35
Receipts as follows:	
799 dues stamps	$ 95.88
Percentage from picnics	12.60
From subscription lists	18.90
International ass. stamps	10.25
24 due stamps 3c. extra	.72
Total	$147.35
Cash on hand Feb. 22, 07	46.60
Grand Total	$193.95

The convention then went into the nomination of presidential electors and the following were nominated: Herman Landgraf, John Hossack, Charles Schrafft, Frank Rapp, Gustav Stelzner, Harry Bateman, John Rees, G. P. Herrschaft, Ernest Oatley, Frank Campbell, Ernest Romary, Hugo Preis.

For members of Congress:

1st District, Emil Landgraf; 2nd District, Jacob Smitter, 3rd District, Frank Zierer; 4th District, John Johnson.

Jersey City was chosen as the seat of the State Committee and Newark the place for holding the next State convention.

A motion was made and carried that the State Committee supply each section with its quota of nominating blanks within three weeks from date, and that all organized counties hold their conventions within a month.

This completed the work of the convention. Before adjournment several delegates made short speeches, the gist of which was that the S. L. P. will stand by men who have in the past and are to day wielding the sword of logic against capitalism and capitalism's friends, and in behalf of the Working Class. With three rousing cheers for the S. L. P., the convention adjourned.

Secretary.

AS TO UNITY.

(Continued on page 5.)

1,200 to 1,300 readers. I do not believe it. But assuming it had 2,000. Who is it that is paying for the cheese-sheet. It has no advertisements. Even the dullest knows that, without advertisements, no daily paper can exist. . . . Those comrades who are favoring unity should stop to consider that the S. P. has been marching forward eight years without unity, and can well afford to wait a few years longer. I feel sure that, if two years hence the S. L. P. should still give any signs of life, we shall then be in posession of the information, how it was possible for it to keep up so long. . . . The S. L. P. resolution is the last stench that the dead body emits.

[From "New Yorker Volkszeitung" (S. P.), Feb. 28.]

The voting of the National Committee of the Socialist Party on the motions for unity with the Socialist Labor Party closed yesterday and resulted as *follows*:

The motion of Algernon Lee, endorsed by the State Committee of New York, to empower the National Executive Committee as representatives at the Unity Conference transactions was defeated by a vote of 17 to 38. The motion of Michigan, to elect seven members of the National Committee to take part in Unity Proceedings met with the same fate. In this instance there were only eleven votes in favor and forty-four against. The third motion, that from Pennsylvania, to invite the Sections as well as individual members of the S. L. P. to join the S. P., and to make such application to the S. P. in their respective localities, was passed by a vote of 36 in favor and 20 against.

[From "Worker," (S. P.) Feb. 29.]

Local Gloversville adopted a resolution against any unity conference with the S. L. P. as being impracticable and ill-advised and protesting against any violation of the resolution to this effect adopted by the last state convention.

[From "Worker," (S. P.) Feb. 29.]

Branch Hackensack has adopted a resolution favoring union with the S. L. P. in accordance with the recommendation of the International Congress of 1904. Resolutions were referred to Local Bergen County with a request that they be submitted to the other branches for action.

[From "Worker," (S. P.) Feb. 29.]

Resolved, By the State Committee of Michigan, in regular meeting assembled, that we are most heartily in favor of the unity of the two Socialist parties on a straight, clean-cut revolutionary program.

YOUNG-CAMPBELL.

(Continued from page 4.)

Young-Campbell Literature Fund, for which the N. E. C. has recently issued a special call.

Section Richmond, through its committee, tenders its hearty thanks to all organizations and individuals who came to the rescue and enabled us to defend so successfully our constitutional right to free speech.

Alex. B. McCulloch.
Chairman Defene Committee, Section Richmond (Va.) S. L. P.

DETROIT LECTURES.

The Socialist Labor Party in Detroit has free lectures every SUNDAY afternoon, 3 o'clock, at Room 11, Avenue Theatre Building. We have arranged the following course:

Sunday, March 8.—The Socialist Labor Party.—L. M. Cunningham.

Sunday, March 15.—Celebrating of the Paris Commune.

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LAST WEEK'S WORK BETTER

EVEN SO IT IS ONLY AN INDICATION OF THE POSSIBILITIES BEFORE US.

For the week ending February 28th we received 182 subs for the Weekly People and 68 mail subs to the Daily People, a total of 250 for the week. Those sending five or more were: Chas. Pierson, Chicago, 24; A. Reimer, Boston, 16; J. Brener, Hartford, Conn., 9; Press Committee, Cincinnati, O., 8; G. J. Sherwood, St. Paul, 8; R. Strach, San Antonio, Tex., 5; J. Juergens, Canton, O., 5.

Prepaid card orders: San Francisco, Cal., $24; Boston, $10. St. Paul, $8.75; G. Langner, Milford, Conn., $5.

While on the whole this week's work shows up better, it is really only because of more intense effort by a few. It will be observed that esven agents sent 75 of the total, 33 others sent 85 of the total, leaving just ninety subs to be credited to the rest of the friends of the movement, and deducting the renewals will reduce it below ninety.

Comrades, are you satisfied with this record? Surely not. Then it is up to you to better it. We do the very best that we can, but your continued inaction cripples even what little effort we can make to push things.

Here is the way the 182 Weekly People subs came by States. If your State doesn't show up well see what you can do to better it: Ariz., 1; Ala., 1; Ark., 0; Cal., 8; Colo., 4; Conn., 14; Del., 0; Fla., 0; Ida., 0; Ill., 26; Ind., 4; Iowa, 0; Kan., 2; Ky., 1; La., 2; Me., 0; Md., 0; Mass., 20. Mich., 4; Minn., 10; Miss., 0; Mo., 0; Mont., 1; Neb., 1; Nev., 1; N. H., 0; N. J., 14; N. Y., 20; N. C., 0; N. D., 1; Ohio, 17; Ore., 0; Pa., 10; R. I., 3; D. C., 0; S. D., 0; Wis., 3; Tenn., 0. Texas, 3; Utah, 0; Vt., 0; Va., 0; Wash., 4; W. Va., 0; Wyo., 0; Canada, 3; Panama, 2; Foreign, 2.

Labor News orders for propaganda literature continue to be light—very light. Cleveland, $5; San Francisco, $5; Minneapolis, $5.30; Philadelphia, $3; Kings County, N. Y., $2.40; Denver, $4; Rotterdam Junction, N. Y., $1.20; St. Paul, $1.32; Nepakarat, $3. Sue and other cloth books: Kings County, $11.35; Minneapolis, $4.20. Houston, Tex., $6.70; Cleveland, $4.40.

"Marx on Mallock" will be the next pamphlet put out, and "The Poniard's Hilt" the next of the Sue stories. We are busy getting out new editions of pamphlets upon which stock had run low or entirely out. There is much that we could do if the financial support was better. Push the propaganda! Let not milder weather find us unprepared for vigorous agitation.

SECTION CALENDAR.

Under this head we shall publish standing advertisements of Section headquarters, or other permanent announcements. The charge will be five dollars a year for five lines.

Section San Francisco, Cal., S. L. P. Headquarters, Hungarian Socialist Federation, Lettonian Socialist Labor Federation, 883 McAllister street.

Los Angeles, Cal., Headquarters and public reading rooms at 409 East Seventh street. Public educational meetings Sunday evenings. People readers are invited to our rooms and meetings.

Section Cleveland, Ohio, S. L. P., meets every alternate Sunday at 356 Ontario street (Ger. Am. Bank Bldg.) top floor, at 3 P. M.

Headquarters Section Cincinnati, O., S. L. P., at 1414 Race street. General Committee meets every second and fourth Thursday. German, Jewish and Hungarian educational meetings every Wednesday and Sunday. Open every night.

S. L. P., at I. W. W. Hall, 12th and Jackson streets. General Committee meets every second and fourth Thursday. German, Jewish and Hungarian educational meetings every Wednesday and Sunday. Open every night.

Section Spokane, Wash., S. L. P. free reading room 110 Bernard st. Visiting comrades, I. W. W. members and all others invited. Business meetings every Sunday morning at 11 a. m.

Section Allentown, Pa., S. L. P., meets every first Saturday in the month at 8 p. m. Headquarters 815 Hamilton street.

Section Providence, R. I., 81 Dyer st., room 8. Regular meetings second and fourth Tuesdays of each month.

New Jersey State Executive Committee, S. L. P.—J. C. Butterworth, Secretary, 110 Albion ave., Paterson; A. Lessig, Financial Secretary, 266 Governor street, Paterson, N. J.

Chicago, Illinois.—The 14th Ward Branch, Socialist Labor Party, meets every 1st and 3rd Sunday, 2 p. m. sharp, at Friedmann's Hall, S. E. corner Grand and Western avenues. Workingmen and women are cordially invited.

Section Seattle, S. L. P., headquarters, free reading room and lecture hall, No. 2000 Second avenue. P. O. address, Box 1040.

Section Salt Lake, Utah, meets every Wednesday, 8 p. m., Rooms 4 and 5, Galena Block, 69 East 2nd So st. Free Reading Room. Weekly People readers invited.

All communications intended for the Minnesota S. E. C. should be addressed to Otto Olson, 310 7th ave., So. Minneapolis, Minn.

Section St. Paul, Minn., S. L. P., holds a business meeting every second Sunday in the month at 10 a. m. at Federation Hall, cor. 3rd and Wabash streets.

.. Antipatriotism ..

Celebrated address of Gustave Herve at the close of his trial for Anti-Militarist Activity, before the jury of La Seine.

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TO CANADIAN FRIENDS

Due to the amendment of postal regulations between the United States and Canada daily newspapers may again be mailed as second class matter. Subscription rates to Canada, on The Daily People, will henceforth be the same as for the United States: One year $3.50, six months $2.00, three months $1.00. Our Canadian friends should now go to work and boost up the circulation of The Daily People.

Daily People
P. O. Box 1576
New York